TRANSPLANTED IRISH INSTITUTIONS:

ORANGEISM AND HIBERNIANISM

IN NEW ZEALAND

1877-1910.

A thesis

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To my children

CONTENTS

TABLES

ABBREVIATIONS

A.J.H.R.	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
A.O.H.	Ancient Order of Hibernians
A.P.D.A.	Australian Protestant Defence Association
H.A.C.B.S.	Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society
H.A.C.L.B.S.	Hibernian Australasian Catholic Ladies Benefit Society
I.A.C.B.S.	Irish Australian Catholic Benefit Society
L.O.I.	Loyal Orange Institution
L.O.L.	Loyal Orange Lodge
P.D.A.	Protestant Defence Association
P.P.A.	Protestant Protective Association
R.A.P.	Royal Arch Purple
R.B.A.	Royal Black Association

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a social and cultural history which investigates the nature of the antagonism between Catholic and Protestant Irish through the Loyal Orange Institution and the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society in New Zealand 1877-1910. This research substantially contributes to the study of these organizations during this period.

The ritual and fraternalism of each institution gave these two communities a sense of cohesion and purpose but also contributed to the sectarian tension between them. Fraternalism was an important aspect of both organizations and this resulted in the development of brotherhoods. The introduction of Ladies Lodges in the L.O.I. and ladies branches in the H.A.C.B.S. threatened the exclusiveness of the 'brotherhood'.

Once these two institutions have been set in their context then two case studies are used to see how they performed within New Zealand society. The use of symbolism and ritual in parades is used as a focal point for discussing tensions and conflict. This sectarian tension is also illustrated in the way that the L.O.I. used anti-Catholic lecturers to support their ideals. The Hibernians supported the Catholic Church in its missionary endeavours and also in its attempt to thwart the anti-Catholic lecturers.

The L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S. exemplified the Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic traditions. The L.O.I. gradually became a charitable organization but the sectarian nature of both organizations remained. Public conflict was minimal between 1877-1910. There was a brief burst of increased sectarian tension during the World War One period but this was mainly due to external influences.

Chapter 1.

INTRODUCTION.

The people of Irish birth who migrated to New Zealand in the latter half of the nineteenth century came from two distinct cultural traditions: Irish Protestantism and Irish Catholicism. (See Table 1).

Table 1- Religious Denominations by Numbers in Provinces in Ireland, 1881.[1]

Provinces	Roman Catholics	Church of Ireland	Presbyterians	Methodists	Others
Connacht	783,116 (95.3%)	32,522 (3.9%)	3,059 (0.4%)	2,239 (0.3%)	721 (0.1%)
Leinster	1,094,825 (85.6%)	157,522 (12.3%)	12,059 (0.9%)	7,006 (0.6%)	7,577 (0.6%)
Munster	1,249,384 (93.8%)	70,128 (5.3%)	3,987 (0.3%)	4,769 (0.4%)	2,847 (0.2%)
Ulster	833,566 (47.8%)	379,402 (21.8%)	451,629 (25.9%)	34,825 (2.0%)	43,653 (2.5%)

The Church of Ireland and Ulster Presbyterianism were the main Protestant denominations in Ireland. By the 1850s the different strands in the Protestant tradition mattered less. R.F. Foster states that with "the development of organized Catholic politics, the differences between Anglicans and Presbyterians in Ulster became less important: the evangelical fervour of the 1850s, and the Catholic triumphalism of the same decade, reinforced their common Protestantism."[2] The fact that Catholicism was the major religion in Ireland, that "the Church of Ireland was the established church of a small minority, and that Ulster Presbyterianism was virtually a state within a state, ensured that the province's [Ulster] religious life would have more than its fair share of ecclesiastical and political turbulence."[3]

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[1]David Hempton and Myrtle Hill, Evangelical Protestantism in Ulster Society 1740-1890, London and New York, Routledge, 1992, p. 163.

[2]R.F. Foster, Modern Ireland 1600-1972, London, Penguin Books, 1988, pp. 387-388.

[3]Op. cit., Hempton and Hill, p. 5.

Ulster was greatly influenced by the Protestants as they were very active in church and political meetings and in the Orange Institution during the nineteenth century. An example of the Ulster Protestant mind-set was given at a meeting of about 100,000 people in Belfast in 1869 to protest against the Irish Church Bill

> At the heart of the day's entertainment were the speeches, many of which were populist history lectures about the struggles and triumphs of Irish Protestants against an unchanging and disloyal Catholicism. As events and heroes were recalled to the cheers of the crowd, the virtues most admired were staunchness and unchanging principles, the evils most railed against were betrayal and accommodation. These appeals to forefathers, faith and the settlement of the land not only foreshortened the past, but helped even the most impious to believe that they were part of a tradition protected by divine providence for a quarter of a millennium. Here was a memorial and celebratory culture resonant with providential turning-points and rich in symbols.[4]

The heroes of Ulster Protestantism were not theologians but defenders of the rights of Ulster Protestants against encroachments by Roman Catholicism. The anti-Catholicism in Ulster Protestantism has been highlighted by historians who saw evangelical religion playing an important role in anti-Catholicism; "the hotter the Protestantism, in terms of its evangelical zeal, the firmer was this belief and the sharper the antagonism against the 'whole system' of Roman Catholicism."[5] This was particularly noticeable in the context of evangelicalism which emphasized religious conversion. Hempton and Hill summarized the potential conflict between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants by arguing

> The centrality of religious conversion to evangelicalism, however, led inexorably to a more competitive religious climate in which evangelical Protestants and Roman Catholics came into more regular conflict. Evangelical enthusiasm thus reinforced an older tradition of anti-Catholicism which combined elements of ethnicity, culture, civilization and colonialism to produce a powerful and multifaceted ideology.[6]

It was the evangelical and anti-Catholic Ulster Protestant who joined the Loyal Orange Institution which enshrined all the principles of Ulster Protestantism.

The Gaelic Revival of the nineteenth century strengthened the second tradition which helped to define the distinctiveness between the Catholic and Protestant communities. J.C. Beckett noted that by 1820 there was a shift in opinion concerning the term 'Irish'. He quoted the words of a member of the powerful Beresford family who stated that 'the Irish

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[4]Ibid., p. 181.

[5]Ibid., p. 182.

[6]Ibid., p. 189.

people' meant the Protestants; now it means the Roman Catholics."[7] When Catholics such as Daniel O'Connell, who championed Catholic rights, began to assert themselves then the term 'Catholic Ireland' became fashionable. The coup for the Catholic Church was to develop the equation of 'Catholic equals Irish' and thus 'non-Catholic equals non-Irish'.[8] This change helped to build the myth of Irish Catholics being the only true Irish. Emmet Larkin, in his study of nineteenth century Irish Catholicism, noted that during 1860

> The launching of a national agitation, the inaugurating of the Peter's pence, and the raising of a papal brigade by the bishops and clergy all resulted in the Irish people's thinking and acting more in national, and less in regional, terms. This energetic focusing on the needs of the pope, moreover, not only deepened that consciousness but intensified it in a way that made the Irish people even more aware of how very Catholic they were. What was thus being focused and strengthened, therefore, was not simply an Irish, but an Irish-Catholic consciousness, which was to have profound consequences for their future as a people.[9]

By thinking in nationalistic terms the Catholics wanted self-determination and this heightened the sectarianism between Catholics and Protestants.[10]

Cardinal Paul Cullen (1803-1878) also influenced sectarianism in Ireland, more than any other Irish prelate. As Foster suggests, Cullen was "a nationalist *faute de mieux*, given his anti-English, anti-Protestant proclivities and the temper of the times."[11] It was his Ultramontanism or papal absolutism, however, which shaped Ireland to conform with the desires of the Catholic Church. He strove to not only keep Ireland Catholic but also to separate the Catholics from the Irish Protestants. Desmond Bowen in his study of Cullen's influence on Ireland in the mid-nineteenth century argued that

> Much of Ireland's tragic history of sectarian bitterness and warfare since Cullen's time has been a result of his striving for Catholic religious and cultural ascendancy in the land. Ireland's Protestants, confronted with the seemingly ever-expansionist Catholic confessional society which

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[7]J.C. Beckett, The Anglo-Irish Tradition, London, Faber and Faber, 1976, p. 10.

[8]Donald Harman Akenson, Small Differences. Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922 An International Perspective, Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988, p. 134.

[9]Emmet Larkin, The Consolidation of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland 1860-1870, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1987, p. 50.

[10]See the following works on Irish Nationalism- D. George Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland, London, Canberra, Dublin, Croom Helm, Gill & Macmillan, 1982; Sean Cronin, Irish Nationalism A History of its Roots and Ideology, Dublin, The Academy Press, 1980; and Robert Kee, The Green Flag: A History of Irish Nationalism, London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972.

[11]Op. cit., Foster, pp. 386-387.

> Cullen had so assiduously nurtured, resentfully withdrew into a ghetto of their own making, fearful of assimilation. They had no choice but to think in sectarian terms if they were to withstand a religious and cultural authority which, by Ultramontane definition, could never tolerate their harmonious existence because they were professors of spiritual error.[12]

Cullen's attempt to try and create an Ultramontane Ireland had far reaching consequences for the Irish Catholic population. It meant that wherever they emigrated to, the Irish Catholic thought of themselves in terms of a collective Catholicism and as such sought to build institutions in which to insulate themselves against Protestantism and any other influence that might endanger their faith. This sense of separateness that Cullen cultivated intensified the 'sectarian divide' whereby Catholics and Protestants kept their distance. The ultramontane form of Irish Catholicism that was transplanted in New Zealand also gave impetus for a separate school system. This was a major source of sectarian tension as the Catholic Church in New Zealand sought to have their schools state funded. Catholic separatism was also evident in the formation of exclusive sodalities and of the Hibernians in New Zealand. Theological differences between the Catholics and Protestants were another source of division. The Catholic hierarchy believed that there was no salvation outside the Catholic Church. They identified the 'Church of Christ' as the Catholic Church which obviously excluded the Protestants.

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The growing divide between Protestants and Catholics in Ireland resulted in increased sectarian tension worldwide. This thesis will analyse the nature of sectarianism between these two groups in New Zealand. This will be done by examining their respective Irish dominated institutions (the Loyal Orange Institution and the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society- H.A.C.B.S.) and their ritual and symbolism which were an expression of sectarianism. The concept of sectarianism employed in this thesis encompasses both the " 'religiously' related segregation and attendant animosity within a society" and the "formation and maintenance of 'sect-type' religious groups."[13] This

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[12]Desmond Bowen, Paul Cullen and the Shaping of Modern Irish Catholicism, Dublin, Gill and Macmillan, 1983, p. 299.

[13]Paul T. Phillips, The Sectarian Spirit: Sectarianism, Society, and Politics in Victorian Cotton Towns, Toronto, Buffalo, London, University of Toronto Press, 1982, p. 3.

definition makes no distinction between Catholics and Protestants in regards to sectarianism. Too often sectarianism has been equated with anti-Catholicism.[14] This thesis makes no such assumption and suggests that both sides contributed to the sectarian tension in New Zealand.

Donald Harman Akenson has a solid reputation for research on the emigrant Irish, and he produced a provocative book which challenged the very basis of New Zealand historical writing. While noting the high calibre of New Zealand historians, Akenson decried the lack of investigation into ethnicity.[15] Akenson has noted that when researching the Irish in New Zealand the "quick and easy way of dealing with the need for an estimate of Irish ethnicity has been to say that 'Irish' and 'Catholics' are synonyms and to take the figures for Catholicity and say they are the figures for the Irish".[16] This method would be erroneous as it would ignore the Irish Protestants.

Once it has been established that the term 'Irish' encompasses both Catholic and Protestant traditions, then the following questions are: what part of Ireland did these immigrants come from, how many and when did the majority of Irish come to New Zealand? By using the statistical evidence available it is possible to plot the course of these Irish immigrants. Most of the Irish who migrated directly from Ireland to New Zealand came from Ulster and Munster.[17] Akenson states that Munster was undergoing radical social and economic upheavals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. As land became scarce the landless agricultural labourers were forced to Dublin, Britain or overseas. Akenson argues that the large number of single males coming to New Zealand must have been sons of small tenant farmers unable to acquire land and thus unable to support a large

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[14]Mark Lyons, 'Aspects of Sectarianism in New South Wales. Circa 1865 to 1880.', Australian National University, Ph.D., 1972. Lyons sees how the use of the term sectarianism has been used by Australian Catholic historians to equal anti-Catholicism. He argues that Catholics brought hostility on themselves, as much of the animosity towards Catholics was a reaction against Catholic sectarianism rather than an expression of anti-Catholicism.

[15]A recent contribution to the study of ethnicity has been done by Lyndon A. Fraser, 'Community, Continuity and Change: Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch', University of Canterbury, Ph.D., 1993. It is a social history study of the adaptive strategies and coping mechanisms used by Irish Catholic immigrants in a new environment "half the world from home."

[16]Donald Harman Akenson, Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950, Wellington, Victoria University Press, 1990, p. 65.

[17]Ibid., pp. 70-71.

family. To further his argument he notes that the abolition of assisted passages in 1891 coincides with decreased migration from this area as these landless labourers could not afford the expensive passage to New Zealand.[18]

The other stream of migrants came from Ulster and their experience was vastly different to the immigrants from Munster. It must not be assumed that all of the immigrants from Ulster were 'Ulster-Scots'. Figures from the 1881 census show that Ulster's religious composition was predominantly Catholic, although that does not mean that the migrants were mainly Catholic. (Refer to Table 1). While many Irish Protestants would have come to New Zealand from Ulster there would also have been some Catholics from that region.

Akenson suggests that these Ulster Catholics had a totally different perception of Ireland from that of the Catholics in the other parts of Ireland. The Catholics in the rest of Ireland not only fought for land in terms of class, but also in national terms. The landlords were Protestant and absentee and thus seen as foreigners. In Ulster the battle was very close to home as competition was on a village by village basis. "This day-to-day perduring rivalry, close, personal, unremitting, produced a toughness, a mixture of doggedness and shrewd calculation, in the northern Catholic that enabled (and indeed, still enables) him [or her] to carry on a battle over decades, even centuries".[19] It is important to understand the origins of the Irish migrants and their own experiences as this effected their development when they settled in New Zealand. The extent to which their traditional rivalry and nationalist aspirations were continued in New Zealand was influenced by their past.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the New Zealand government, under the guidance of Julius Vogel (1835-1899), who believed that the country needed more settlers, devised a plan for national development based on immigration and public works.[20] Davis notes that "Immigration was a burning issue for all New Zealanders" as

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[18]Ibid., pp. 69-72.

[19]Op. cit, Akenson, Half the World from Home, p. 73.

[20]Julius Vogel was the Colonial Treasurer in 1870 and was Premier from April 1873 to July 1875 and then Premier again from February to August 1876.

employers demanded more labourers but were not happy with the quality of the immigrants who came.[21] The important legislation for immigrants coming to New Zealand was the Immigration and Public Works Act passed in September 1870. This Act had two features that were relevant to the Irish. Firstly, because there were an excess number of males arriving in New Zealand, the government offered free passage for single women. Secondly, the Act used a system of nominated immigration which effectively meant that colonists could bring out friends and relatives.[22] Nomination was favoured by the Irish in general because they were eager to escape the widespread economic poverty in Ireland.

During this 'Vogel period' the Irish made their most notable impression on New Zealand as a proportion of the total population. (See Table 2).

Table 2- The Irish-born Population of New Zealand, 1861-1911.

Year	No.	% of N.Z. Pop.
1861	8831	8.9
1871	29,733	11.6
1881	49,363	10.1
1891	47,634	7.6
1901	43,524	5.6
1911	40,958	4.1

Source: New Zealand censuses, 1861-1911.

This period of heavy immigration was dominated by the influx of young Irish males. "They worked hard in mines, in clearing bush, on the roads, and when they came to town they drank hard and scared people. And that is the picture of the Irish that became fixed in the popular mind."[23] These young Irish males tended to either leave New Zealand or get married and settle down. By 1890, there was a sharp decline in Irish immigration to New Zealand. This was attributable to the abolition of the assistance schemes in 1890. New Zealand was distant from Ireland which meant that the passage was expensive. It was no longer a favourable destination because the Irish were generally poorer than the other

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[21]Richard P. Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868-1922, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1974, p. 25.

[22]Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[23]Op. cit., Akenson, Half the World from Home, p. 53.

migrants.[24] As there was no longer an influx of Irish males coming to New Zealand, the Irish population aged. The Irish progressed from being the least skilled and youngest in the Vogel era to being the oldest and most settled of all the immigrant groups from the British Isles by World War I.[25]

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The Irish in New Zealand have received very little recognition from New Zealand historians until recently. The most notable monograph for many years was Richard P. Davis' Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868-1922.[26] Davis discussed the theme of the local support for Irish independence and Catholic demands for state aid for their schools. He dealt with the way in which these issues influenced New Zealand politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The main personalities on the Catholic side were the Catholic bishops Moran and Redwood who espoused the issues of Home Rule for Ireland and state aid to the Catholic educational system.

Hugh Laracy's work on the Catholic Bishop of Dunedin, Patrick Moran, sketched the significance of this major ecclesiastical figure in New Zealand history. Moran's involvement in the politics of Home Rule for Ireland and the seeking of state aid for the Catholic education system brought these issues into public debate. Moran's polemics in both the secular arena and the ecclesiastical scene were highlighted by Laracy.[27] The work of Peter O'Connor covers a similar theme to Laracy in that both dealt with the Catholic

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[24]Ibid., pp. 24-25.

[25]Ibid., p. 53.

[26]See R.P. Davis, 'The Irish Catholic Question and New Zealand Society 1868-1922', Otago University, Ph.D., 1968. See also Davis' articles on the Irish- 'Irish immigrant culture in New Zealand', Threshold, no. 20, Autumn and Winter, 1966/67; 'Labour's "Irish campaign"', 1916-1921.', Political Science, vol. 19, no. 2, December 1967; 'Sir George Grey and Irish Nationalism', New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 1, no. 2, October 1967; 'Sir Robert Stout and the Irish question, 1879-1921', Historical Studies: Australia and New Zealand, vol. 12, no. 47, October 1966.

[27]Hugh M. Laracy, 'The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran', Victoria University of Wellington, M.A., 1964. See also Laracy's articles- 'Paranoid Popery: Bishop Moran and Catholic Education in New Zealand', New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 10, April 1976; 'Bishop Moran; Irish Politics and Catholicism in New Zealand', Journal of Religious History, vol. 6, no. 1, June 1970.

Church's involvement in controversy.[28] Laracy dealt with the 'paranoia' of Moran's anti-Catholic fears, by stating that

> Moran's religion is heavily characterised by defining and limiting 'accidents'. The suspicion of Protestants, the fear of conspiracy, the horror of secularism in education and government, the smarting of Irish grievances are elements which neither belong to nor become Catholicism. Nevertheless, they were inseparable from Moran's Catholicism and were the determinants of the 'image' which he had of it and by which it was known.[29]

O'Connor, through the means of New Zealand political history, deals with the issues of sectarianism and in particular the Protestant Political Association (P.P.A). This association flourished between 1917 and 1919 when the ex-Orange Grand Master William Massey was Prime Minister. This period was seen as a time of, (to use the phrase of the Catholic bishop of Auckland, Henry Cleary), 'a cycle of sectarian epilepsy'. Cleary was referring to the activities of the P.P.A. and their 'anti-Catholic' agenda. O'Connor demonstrates the ability of the P.P.A to influence New Zealand politics. O'Connor and Laracy highlight the power of sectarian conflict to dominate New Zealand political issues.

The landmark thesis of Harold Stephen Moores was contemporaneous with O'Connor's work and both concentrated on the P.P.A. The difference between the two was that O'Connor emphasized the extent of conflict that ensued with P.P.A involvement in New Zealand politics while Moores plotted the background to the P.P.A. and their impact on New Zealand politics. Through extensive primary research Moores was able to provide the background of sectarianism in New Zealand during the first world war. His main focus was on the Loyal Orange Institution (L.O.I.) and its 'anti-Catholic' history which formed the base by which the P.P.A. was formed and eventually numerically outgrew its parent body. At the heart of his thesis Moores argued that

> middle-class Liberalism in this period, in its sources, values, and modes of expression, does seem to contain within itself the seeds of such sectarian bitterness and anti-Catholic feeling, while the Great War provides a kind of hot-house atmosphere compounded of personal suffering, social

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[28]See P.S. O'Connor's articles- 'Mr Massey and the P.P.A.- A suspicion confirmed', New Zealand Journal of Public Administration, March 1966; 'Protestants, Catholics, and the New Zealand Government, 1916-1918', in G.A. Wood and P.S. O'Connor (eds), W.P. Morrell: A Tribute, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1973; 'Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920', Political Science, vol. 19, no. 1, July 1967; 'Storm over the Clergy- New Zealand 1917', Journal of Religious History, vol. 4, no. 2, December 1966.

[29]Op. cit., Laracy, 'The Life and Context of Bishop Patrick Moran', p. 145.

> disruption, and political frustration that enables these seeds to sprout and grow quickly to full height.[30]

Moores places the issue of sectarianism in New Zealand into a larger perspective by mentioning nineteenth-century middle class liberalism. This liberalism included a strand of militant Protestantism and this contributed to sectarian tension. While down playing the extent of sectarianism, Moores did state that "for a time in the early twentieth century, sectarian and ethnic tensions came to play a major role in New Zealand life and politics".[31] Sectarianism has been evident throughout New Zealand's history but during the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, sectarianism was an obvious feature in the political and social scenes. Both Moores' and O'Connors' focus on the P.P.A. emphasized Protestant sectarianism and thus down played the contribution of Catholics to the tensions. Through his study on Moran, Laracy emphasized Moran's suspicion of Protestants. This proves that both sides added fuel to religious tensions through their prejudices and suspicions.

The next significant contribution to the research on the Irish in New Zealand was Neil Vaney's thesis which highlighted the differences between Irish Catholics and the French Priests on the West Coast.[32] Although Vaney deals with the Irish more in terms of the Catholic Church he does reach the conclusion that there was very little theological difference between the Irish and French priests but that in the political arena the Irish were much more active. The issue of Home Rule was a notable example. An important feature about Vaney's thesis was that it was a critique of Davis' work. Vaney felt that Davis relied too much on the New Zealand Tablet for information and took the rhetoric of it and Moran too seriously. Vaney sought to counter-balance this by his use of other archival resources.

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[30]Harold S. Moores, 'The Rise of the Protestant Political Association: Sectarianism in N.Z. during World War I', University of Auckland, M.A., 1966, p. 6. See also Max Satchell, 'Pulpit Politics: The Protestant Political Association in Dunedin from 1917 to 1922', University of Otago, B.A. (Hons), 1983.

[31]Ibid., p. 15.

[32]Neil Vaney, 'The Dual Tradition, Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand: The West Coast Experience, 1865-1910', University of Canterbury, M.A., 1977. David McGill's The Lion and the Wolfhound: The Irish Rebellion on the New Zealand Goldfields relied heavily on Vaney's work. He produced a great title but failed to deliver anything substantial. Using a journalistic style he retold the 'Fenian riots of 1868' on the West Coast.

It must be remembered that access to Catholic archival material has become easier which means that new information can be explored and assimilated into research.

Rory Sweetman's dissertation on Irish Catholicism made use of the rich resources in Auckland.[33] Sweetman views the time between 1912-1922 as a period when New Zealand was most affected by religious and ethnic rivalries and when there was a resurgence of the issue of Irish nationalism especially after the Easter Rising of 1916. In his dissertation, Sweetman argues that the Irish issue was a "catalyst' which brought discord onto New Zealand's social scene. He highlights the extent to which the New Zealand Catholic Church was influenced by the Irish and states that this has not been sufficiently appreciated by historians.

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The gaps in the historiography of the Irish in New Zealand are wide but an understanding of them is intrinsic to any study. Despite the work already done, study in the area of religion is required. There is still no institutional history of the Catholic Church in New Zealand although some theses and articles have been written on particular dioceses.[34] Included in this whole area is the use of folk culture as an entry point into understanding what the 'average' Catholic believed. Much work on the Catholic Church has focused on the clergy and bishops in particular. How the different lay societies and organizations fared or the character of lay Catholic beliefs still need to be explored.

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[33]R.M. Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922', University of Cambridge, Ph.D., 1990. See Sweetman's article, 'New Zealand Catholicism and the Irish Issue, 1914-1922', in W.J. Sheils and D. Wood (eds), The Churches, Ireland and the Irish, Studies in Church History, vol. 25, Oxford, 1989. Sweetman's extensive use of the Auckland archives can be attributed to the combined efforts of Father E.R. Simmons and Ruth Ross in organizing the Auckland Catholic Diocesan Archives. See Rory Sweetman, 'Research on New Zealand Catholicism: What? Where? Who? Why?', Archifacts, April 1991. He discusses the access to and nature of different Catholic archives.

[34]Apart from two notable diocesan histories there is no comprehensive history. The two local histories are by Michael O'Meeghan, Held Firm by Faith, A History of the Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1840-1987, Catholic Diocese of Christchurch, 1988, and by E.R. Simmons, In Cruce Salus. A History of the Diocese of Auckland, 1848-1980, Auckland, Catholic Publications Centre, 1982. Also see S.C. MacPherson, 'A 'Ready Made Nucleus of Degradation and Disorder'? A religious and social history of the Catholic Church and community in Auckland 1870-1910', University of Auckland, M.A., 1987. Professor Patrick O'Farrell's Vanished Kingdoms: Irish in Australia and New Zealand, New South Wales University Press, 1990,was a 'personal excursion', but it has provided some valuable insights into the Irish Catholic mentality- especially among the Irish priests.

The Irish Protestants as a group have largely been overlooked. The Irish Catholics can mainly be located by looking at the Catholic Church in New Zealand. Irish Protestants were spread across the different Protestant denominations. Once located, many questions would surface, such as whether they saw themselves in terms of being 'Irish' or 'British' and to what extent they carried their Old World mind-set into their respective communities and churches. The only notable Irish Protestant institution was the Loyal Orange Institution. So far there has been no analysis of its workings, function, and how the institution fitted into society. Apart from their association with the P.P.A. no one has really attempted to research the nineteenth century L.O.I.[35] No one would doubt their importance in early New Zealand society but they have only been seen in terms of political history. As the only Irish Protestant institution in New Zealand, it is interesting to enquire about how important the L.O.I. was as a focal point for Irish Protestant identity. Involved in the research of the L.O.I. is the problem of availability of Orange primary sources. Although the Moores thesis used some holdings of material held at the Orange Hall in Auckland, there were no such holdings elsewhere. Only recently have minutebooks begun to appear and these all help to further our knowledge of the L.O.I.

Sectarian conflict may have been covered but again it is only from the basis of a few works and generally deals with the P.P.A. and the period immediately before, during and after World War I. Fleeting references to anti-Catholic lecturers have been made but with little background material. These speakers are seen by historians as a focus for sectarian tension yet no research has been attempted. Exactly who were these people, what were their aims and how did they fare in New Zealand as opposed to other countries they visited is important in developing an understanding of religious conflict in New Zealand.

The possible approaches to the Irish in New Zealand are more numerous than ever before. Previous New Zealand history has been dominated by political histories but recent developments have seen an upsurge in cultural and social histories. One noticeable gap in our knowledge of the Irish is on single Irish women who came to New Zealand. Recent

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[35]Some background was done by Moores but it was, like Davis' work, focussed on the early twentieth century.

interest in the history of women may see some historical gaps on the Irish being filled. As with any study of migration this would involve a comparative analysis between Irish women in Ireland and how they fared in New Zealand. The research skills involved would clearly involve the use of genealogy and demographic analysis. The types of approaches that can be considered for the Irish in New Zealand range from biographical histories to community studies. All of these approaches involve a defining of the perimeters which can be seen to some extent in Akenson's study.

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This thesis will investigate the nature of the antagonism between Catholic and Protestant Irish through the L.O.I. and the Hibernians in New Zealand 1877-1910. This period has been chosen as it fills a gap in the historiography of New Zealand's Irish and sectarian tensions. The task is to understand how the institutions were used by their respective Irish groups as a focal point for their identity. Unlike many political histories that have focused on these organizations from without, this study will focus on these organizations from within, and then assess how they were perceived in the wider community. These institutions have to be studied as they helped to give Irish immigrants social cohesion among their own communities. This contributed to separating the Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics from the mainstream of society. The institutions were also a means of preserving their religious and ethnic identity in both social and political spheres.

The New Zealand situation is connected with the general problem of the Irish diaspora. In the United States of America, Canada and Australia as well as in New Zealand the relationship within the Irish community and between it and the rest of the community was exacerbated by the stereotypes of the period. Focus upon the institutions, especially the L.O.I. and the Hibernians will raise questions of how Irish immigrants were affected by stereotypes that were imposed on them by the wider New Zealand society. These stereotypes were both ethnic and religious but had to be related to the self-images derived from any previous Irish experience. The way in which these Irish dominated institutions fared in social and political fields in other countries provides a useful comparative perspective.

In Chapters 2 and 3 the L.O.I. and the Hibernians will be analyzed through the study of ritual and fraternalism.[36] These concepts will illuminate the ways in which symbolism and structures reinforced sectarianism or cohesion within and between the two institutions. Chapter 2 focuses exclusively on Orangeism and details its Irish origins as a secret society. The fraternal and ritualistic nature of Orangeism is explained as this gave Irish Protestants a sense of kinship, identity and solidarity when the institution transferred to New Zealand. The ways in which their rituals and rules maintained the 'sectarian divide' are investigated especially in the areas of marriage, parades and funerals. Politically, Orangeism did not have much success in New Zealand until the formation of the Protestant Political Association in 1917, which eventually broke away from its parent body to become its own institution. The L.O.I. is viewed not only as a vehicle for political involvement but also from a religious context as a 'brotherhood' whose aim was to uphold Protestantism. The introduction of the Ladies Lodges changed the dynamics of the exclusive 'brotherhood' of Orangeism. It was no longer a male domain and was faced with Orangewomen wanting a say in their institution.

Chapter 3 initially compares and contrasts the L.O.I. and the Hibernians who both had their roots in secret societies in Ireland. Then the link between the Catholic church and the Hibernians is developed. The role of the Catholic Church and its involvement as a counter to Orangeism is discussed, especially how clergy such as H.W. Cleary became consumed with exposing the 'real' nature of Orangeism as he perceived it. The Hibernians fulfilled functions that the Catholic Church could not. The Catholic Church saw the Hibernian Society as a means to offer financial benefits to Catholic members. Hibernianism was also used by the Church as a means of social control as Catholics were isolating themselves from society through joining exclusively Catholic organizations and institutions. This chapter also investigates both the purpose and 'success' of the Hibernians.

Once these two institutions have been seen in their context then two case studies are used to see how these institutions performed within New Zealand society. After having seen the workings from within, then the case for their relative importance from without is

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[36]Fraternalism is defined at the beginning of Chapter 2 and the concept of ritual is explained in Chapter 4.

stressed. Chapter 4 uses the symbolism of the parades (e.g. St Patrick's Day and the Battle of the Boyne celebrations) and the ritual involved as a focal point for discussing tensions and conflict. The symbolism inherent in these celebrations is seen as a way in which these two institutions not only reclaimed public space but were also forced to publicly acknowledge the other's symbolic claims without necessarily agreeing with them. The extent to which the parades were not only a religious but also social expression of two communities will be explored, as they came to terms with a new environment where the balance of Old World tensions may or may not have been present. This chapter also describes how the symbolism not only maintained links with Ireland but was also a display of the sectarian traditions of both institutions.

Chapter 5 establishes the origins of anti-Catholicism and the way it was transported to New Zealand. The sectarian tension is illustrated through the visits of anti-Catholic lecturers. These lecturers will be described in terms of their contribution to increased sectarian tension. Important issues such as mixed marriages, censorship and the status of nuns and priests were discussed and scrutinized during their visits and this heightened the sense of sectarianism in New Zealand. Father Hennebery's visit to New Zealand is used as a starting point because his visit exemplifies the way that the Catholic Church was keen to increase their numbers by gaining converts. The role of the Catholic Church and its tactics in dealing with the anti-Catholic visitors changed over time. It ranged from very little confrontation to an intensive literature campaign by Bishop Cleary.

The nineteenth century was the age of lodges, clubs and associations. The L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S were examples of two organizations that exemplified the Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic traditions. Each had to find its own identity in a new land. The way in which they both evolved from their faction fighting origins in Ireland to essentially becoming charitable and benefit organizations was largely the result of their inability or even their lack of desire to sustain their original purpose. Even so, the sectarian nature of both organizations remained. The extent to which this led to public conflict was minimal between 1877 and 1910. There was however, a brief burst of increased sectarian tension during the World War One period but this was mainly due to external influences.

Chapter 2.

"WE WILL MAINTAIN": ORANGEISM IN NEW ZEALAND.[1]

Secret societies flourished in Ireland in the latter half of the eighteenth-century. One of the most notable secret societies was the Loyal Orange Institution. An understanding of the idea of secret societies is important to comprehend their purpose. Mak Lau Fong, a sociologist has provided a useful definition.

> a secret society may be defined as *a group which has a set of well-defined norms, secret rituals and an oath that are intended subjectively to bind the members to secrecy regarding the group's affairs*...Thus, insofar as the group is organized by its initial members around the principle of protecting the secrecy of the group, notwithstanding the extent to which the public learns of its existence, it remains a secret society.[2]

This definition is in keeping with the Loyal Orange Institution which had secret rituals and an oath binding its members to secrecy.

Fraternity was an intrinsic part of society during the period when Orangeism was established as an Institution. Fraternalism stressed an obligation to one another and collective responsibility for the good of others.[3] The use of the biblical concept of the Mystical Body of Christ was used to explain the corporate sense of fraternalism.[4] According to Mary Ann Clawson, this corporate metaphor

> sees social institutions as being like bodies, "made of a single internally differentiated but interconnected substance," so that "harm inflicted on any member was felt by the whole." A corporate concept of society assumes that groups, not individuals, are the basic units of society, and that people act, not primarily as individuals, but as members of collectivities.[5]

This corporate sense was true of Orangeism which saw itself as a part of worldwide Protestantism.

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[1]M.W. Dewar, John Brown and S.E. Long, Orangeism a New Historical Appreciation, Belfast, Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1969, p. 18. "I will maintain!" was the motto of the House of Orange, and was appropriated by the L.O.I. as a slogan for upholding Protestantism.

[2]Mak Lau Fong, The Sociology of Secret Societies: A Study of Chinese Secret Societies in Singapore and Peninsular Malaysia, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1981, p. 8.

[3]Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Press, 1989, pp. 21-25.

[4]The 'mystical body' represented the Church of believers who were united through Christ. Orangeism adopted this concept to support their belief in a brotherhood. It also linked their institution with religious matters.

[5]Op. cit., Clawson, pp. 38-39.

Ritual was used to reinforce fraternalism, kinship and a sense of identity. The members identified each other as brothers although they were biologically unrelated. This sense of brotherhood was used to provide a solidarity in which to achieve various aims. Far from being a one-time event in a member's life, the Orange Institution, like other fraternal societies (notably the Masons) permeated their everyday life and annual events. Fraternalism was evident through the Orangemen's shared initiation, and by shared responsibilities in life via charitable works, and in important events such as meetings, parades, marriages and funerals. Clawson used an example of a Catholic confraternity but this can also illustrate Orange rituals. Clawson noted that both the mass and banquet "served...to bind members into a unitary whole, while the procession displayed their public identity as a corporate body existing within a larger urban community."[6] This sense of solidarity was also true of the funeral where all the members attended wearing their insignia which illustrated that death was a part of the corporate responsibility of the fraternal organization and not just the family or the church that the deceased belonged to. The "corporate funeral demonstrated and reiterated to the members of the community that they were bound to one another 'until death do us part'."[7] Clawson's use of the marriage vows helps to show how strong the ties were for people who joined a fraternal organization.

Until the late nineteenth century, fraternalism was essentially a brotherhood which was an association "between and among men."[8] Clawson suggests that "Fraternal orders not only offered an alternative social space for the expression of male solidarity, but dignified and idealized it by means of rituals that excluded women and celebrated the creation of specifically male social bonds."[9] Late in the nineteenth century women began to play a more prominent role in society and this resulted in the accommodation of women in the fraternal orders. The L.O.I. was no exception in the changes that occurred in fraternal

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[6]Ibid., p. 43.

[7]Ibid., p. 43.

[8]Ibid., p. 45.

[9]Ibid., p. 179.

organizations. The corporate sense of fraternalism, the use of ritual and the role of women will be studied in greater depth.

The fraternalism of the Orange Order arose from its history. The L.O.I. has been a much 'maligned religious organization' whose members have been labelled as 'anti-Catholic bigots', and this brought the Orangemen closer together as they fended off such criticism. These popular conceptions of the L.O.I. describe the intensity of feeling when contemporaries spoke about the Institution. Examining the origins of this organization can help to explain these polemic views because it was in Ireland, that land of extremes, that Orangeism took a firm root and flourished.

The tumultuous years of the latter half of the seventeenth century provides the backdrop for the beginning of Orangeism. James II of England had attempted to bring England back under Roman Catholicism. English Protestants sought the aid of William III Prince of Orange, a Protestant, to become the King of England instead of James. The timing of William III's arrival was of notable significance as he landed at Torbay, England on 5 November 1688. This date was of course also the celebration of the Gunpowder Plot and this developed into the celebration of 'the double fifth of November.' They were events of importance that were given a Service of Thanksgiving in the old prayer books of the United Church of England and Ireland.[10] It is notable that William marched to Exeter where he held a service at the Cathedral, which according to Orange historian Reverend M.W. Dewar "must have been the first "Orange" meeting on record."[11] It was at Exeter Cathedral that the upholding of the Protestant faith and liberty were confirmed.

William won victory after victory in his campaign. On 12 July 1690 in Ireland, he defeated the Catholic forces under James II and by this act, Protestantism became supreme in Ireland. This Battle of the Boyne was a focal point in the history of Orangeism. William III, Prince of Orange was the central figure and symbol of Orangeism and his defeat of James II at the Battle of the Boyne was the central myth. It was "the victory of combined

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[10] Op. cit., Dewar, pp. 38-39.

[11] Ibid., p. 39.

protestantism and constitutional monarchy."[12] Hereward Senior, in his landmark history of Orangeism, noted that the "colour orange was adopted as a symbol of Irish protestant patriotism that became associated with memories not only of King William's victories but also with the earlier struggles of the 'protestant colony' [in Ireland], particularly during the catholic rising of 1641."[13] The foundation had been laid for the growth of Orangeism but the 'cornerstones' were not established until much later.

The Penal Laws were enacted in Ireland on 7 September 1695. They were Acts restricting the rights of Catholics to education and to bear arms. There were further laws in 1704 to restrict the landholding rights of Catholics. R.F. Foster states that "Out of all proportion to their actual effect, the Penal Laws reflected Protestant fears and affected Irish mentality, creating a tension of resentment born of enforced deference..."[14] By the latter half of the eighteenth century "the rights of catholics emerged as the fundamental issue in Irish politics."[15] Due to the Protestant Ascendancy in Ulster in the 1700s, there was the potential for sectarian conflict. The 'Protestant Ascendancy' is a precise term to describe the political, social and economic power that a minority of Protestants had from the time of the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 to the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829.

Secret societies were formed on both sides of the Catholic and Protestant communities. In county Armagh, Ulster, these locally organized groups were the Defenders on the Catholic side, and the Peep O'Day Boys on the Protestant. The Peep O'Day Boys claimed that they were "enforcing the Penal Laws reneged upon by the gentry...Defenderism was in one sense a 'defence' against this."[16] On 21 September 1795 these two groups clashed and this became known as the Battle of the Diamond.

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[12]Cecil J. Houston & William J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore. A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980, p. 3.

[13]Hereward Senior, Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, p. 2.

[14] R.F. Foster, Modern Ireland 1600-1972, London, Penguin Books, 1989, p. 207.

[15]Op. cit., Houston, p. 9.

[16]Op. cit., Foster, p. 272.

Even though the Peep O'Day Boys were victorious, there was some alarm among the Protestant peasantry at the mobilization of the Defenders at the Battle of the Diamond. After meetings between different Protestant factions, the Loyal Orange Institution was formed. James Sloan, an innkeeper at Loughgall, County Armagh became the titular head of this fledgling movement. The Orange Institution that was formed was in reaction to the Defenders, and like the Defenders they adopted secret initiations and oaths more akin to Freemasonry.

The comparison with Freemasonry, especially in the early years was an attempt to create respectability as many of the early Orangemen were members of Masonic lodges.[17] The Masons and the Orange Institution did have similarities but there were also notable differences. The word 'lodge', masonic titles and practices from Freemasonry were adopted by the Orange Institution. Catholics were excluded from both institutions but this was where the similarities ended. Freemasons existed for themselves while Orangemen tried to maintain the 'Protestant Ascendancy' as established by William III's victory at the Battle of the Boyne. Another notable difference was the aristocratic origins of Freemasonry against what was seen as the Protestant peasantry origins of Orangeism.[18] Yet according to Terence De Vere White "whenever Orange activities came in for criticism in the nineteenth century- as they often did- a stock excuse was that the Order was as respectable as the Freemasons. Nobody ever questioned the respectability of the latter."[19]

In the same manner as the Freemason the Orangeman had to declare oaths. The original oath of these early Orangemen was "I,...do solemnly swear that I will, to the utmost of my power, support and defend the king and his heirs as long as he or they support the Protestant ascendancy."[20] This conditional oath took many forms in the following years but it always maintained that Orangeism would support the monarchy as long as it remained

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[17]Hereward Senior, 'The Early Orange Order 1795-1870', in T. Desmond Williams (ed.), Secret Societies in Ireland, Dublin, New York, Gill & Macmillan Barnes & Noble Books, 1973, p. 37.

[18]Terence de Vere White, 'The Freemasons', in Desmond Williams Secret Societies in Ireland, p. 52.

[19]Ibid., p. 53.

[20]Op. cit., Senior, Orangeism in Ireland, p. 21.

Protestant. The Orange meetings were held on hilltops and behind hedges in a similar manner to other agrarian secret societies.[21]

The establishment of the first Orange lodge may have signalled the start of a localized secret society but according to Houston and Smyth "An accident of history and a degree of good organization thrust this society out of otherwise local obscurity to the prominence of a national and ultimately international phenomenon."[22] This "accident of history" was the combining of the Defenders with Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen.[23] The United Irishmen were seen as a threat to the established authorities of the Anglo-Irish ruling classes. Tone's republicanism was based on the example of the French Revolution. To counter any threats the government authorized the gentry to arm the local yeomanry in August 1796. William Blacker the son of a county Armagh landlord fulfilled his task quickly by recruiting directly from the Orange lodges.[24] The influx of the respectable Irish gentry with land received further impetus in June 1797 when Thomas Verner with the same background as Blacker, established L.O.L. No. 176 in Dublin which attracted large numbers of nobility and gentry.

Once the landlords began joining the Orange lodge they in turn introduced Orangeism to their Protestant yeomanry and tenants.[25] To further strengthen the movement, a Grand Lodge was formed in Portadown on 12 July 1797. The innkeeper James Sloan and the others who formed the first Orange lodge stood aside for gentry such as Blacker and Verner. The following year on 9 April 1798 the Grand Lodge of Ireland was formed in "fashionable" Dawson Street, Dublin.[26] The shift in leadership meant that the organizational structure improved to the point where all of the local, district and country

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[21]Ibid., pp. 18-20.

[22]Op. cit., Houston & Smyth, p. 10.

[23]Theobald Wolfe Tone (1763-1798) was the founder of Irish Republican nationalism. See Marianne Elliott, Wolfe Tone: Prophet of Irish Independence, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1989.

[24]Op. cit., Senior, Orangeism in Ireland, p. 58.

[25]Op. cit., Dewar, pp. 107-108.

[26]Ibid., p. 107.

lodges were responsible to one Irish Grand Lodge. The time had come when "the secret society of a small Armagh village had become national."[27] The Orange yeomanry played an important part in quelling the rebellion of the United Irishmen in 1798. Houston and Smyth note that the Orange Institution "achieved within the government a reputation of credence and respectability, among the protestant community the position of vigilant defender, but in the eyes of catholics and republicans a notorious image of butchery."[28] It is in the role of vigilant defender that the essence of Orangeism is captured.

Following the Battle of the Diamond the Protestant peasantry were keen to press home their victory over the Defenders. They organized a series of night raids in an attempt to drive away Catholic tenants. Many cottages occupied by Catholics had notices plastered on them telling the occupants to go 'to hell or Connaught.' If this message was ignored by the tenants the raiders would then destroy their furniture and weaving looms. The number of Catholic families affected by these raids has ranged from 180 to 1400 families.[29] The number was subject to some controversy as it really depended on whether it was reported by someone who wanted to downplay or exaggerate the 'Armagh Outrages.' Peter Gibbon has suggested that the Protestant weavers who made up these raiders were essentially trying to remove the Catholic weavers from the labour market.[30] Attacks by the Protestant weavers continued on the properties of mill-owners and linen manufacturers who were employing Catholics.[31] Armagh was different from the other counties in Ulster in that Catholics and Protestants were fairly evenly distributed. As a result Protestants occupied positions of advantage through a 'constitution of a determinative limit' in the relations between Catholics and Protestants. Gibbon argues that with the growth of the linen industry an unrestricted

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[27]Op. cit., Houston & Smyth, p. 11.

[28]Ibid., p. 12.

[29]Ibid., pp. 29-30.

[30]Peter Gibbon, 'The Origins of the Orange Order and the United Irishmen' Economy and Society, vol. 1, no.2, May 1972, p. 162. Gibbon suggests that the Armagh troubles were not primarily or purely religious.

[31]Ibid., p. 158.

labour market impinged on the 'limit' and so the weavers took matters into their own hands and enforced what they considered was their right under the Penal Laws.[32] The extent to which Orangemen took part in these 'Armagh Outrages' cannot be established but it was likely that individual Orangemen took part but without the sanction of the Orange Institution.[33]

Against this background of unrest in Armagh the Orange Institution organized its first parades on 12 July 1796. These seem to have been at Lurgan, Portadown and Waringstown. There were flags bearing portraits of William III and King George III. An Orange historian noted that the "customary Masonic processions also gave a model for these Orange parades."[34] Senior makes the observation that these parades were not only peaceful, but they also gave the Orangemen a new strength. In keeping with this new found boldness at the summer assizes, the Orangemen in Armagh presented the magistrates with a petition declaring their support for the civil authority by stating that

> every act of violence and outrage...is imputed to us. We deny the charge with contempt; our principles binding us in a most secret and solemn manner to the contrary. We abhor and detest every act of outrage committed by Defenders, Peep o'Day Boys, or others, and declare ourselves separate from such violators,...as our own principles are as sacred and so distinct, as that venerable body of brotherhood called Free Masons.[35]

The petition of 1796 contained some important statements that continued to be reiterated throughout the Orange Institution's history. The denial of the use of violence was a common claim especially as the 'popular' perception of Orangeism was that it was a 'hate-group.' Orangeism can be seen as a term used for the ideology of a Protestant minority being besieged by a Catholic majority. Essentially because the Orange Institution's aims involved the dominance of Protestantism at the implied expense of Catholicism then the charge that they did incite sectarian strife can be used against them.

In a colonial framework the Irish Protestant upheld Protestantism but also saw loyalty to the British monarchy as paramount to maintaining links between the new

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[32]Ibid., pp. 150-151.

[33]Op. cit., Senior, Orangeism in Ireland, p. 30.

[34]Op. cit., Dewer, pp. 104-105.

[35]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

environment and his homeland. Fear of any weakening of this support resulted in more declarations of loyalty.[36] This 'siege mentality' played an important role in the countries where Irish Protestants settled, most notably in England, Scotland, Canada, United States, Australia and New Zealand. Each of these countries experienced Irish immigration in large numbers. This included Irish Catholics and the Irish Protestants, some of whom formed Orange lodges to counteract the former.

The Orange Institution was first introduced into the "Britain of the South- New Zealand" by James Carlton Hill who arrived in Auckland at the end of 1842.[37] Hill was from County Wicklow, Ireland and brought a warrant with him so that he might have the "honour of planting the old Orange tree in the sunny south."[38] The warrant he brought was his old district warrant No. 1707 which had originally been issued on 13 September 1828. The first meeting was held in 1843 at Osprey Inn, High Street, Auckland. The early years saw the first lodge move many times.[39] Many early members of the first Orange lodges in New Zealand were soldiers of the 58th and 65th Regiments who, when relocated around the North Island opened new Orange lodges. As more regiments came to New Zealand especially during the period of the New Zealand Wars many soldiers were Orangemen.[40] Many of these soldiers obtained a discharge from their respective regiments and stayed in New Zealand.[41]

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[36]T. Desmond Williams, Secret Societies in Ireland, p. 12.

[37]Joseph Carnahan, A Brief History of the Orange Institution in the North Island of New Zealand from 1842 to the present time, Auckland, Star Office, 1886, p. 6.

[38]Ibid., p. 8.

[39]Ibid., p. 11. One interesting move was to a very primitive house at Cabbage-tree Swamp. It was just the shell of a house and was "roofed with raupo, and minus furniture." An early report of the meeting describes that the "members sat on the floor, the warrant was placed on the pot, the Bible on the warrant, and there, in that old cottage (or whare), in peace and quietness, did the members return thanks to God for raising up for their deliverance from tyranny and arbitrary power, William the Third, of glorious memory." Carnahan notes that many old members looked back with pride on the opening of the lodge at Cabbage-tree Swamp that had a three-legged-pot for a table.

[40]Ibid., pp. 14-15. There is even the story of some Orangemen who, when sent to Taranaki because a war broke out, still celebrated the 12th of July in 1860. These Orangemen held celebrations at an evacuated house. Having returned to their barracks they learned that the 'natives' had set fire to the house they had been in half an hour previously. So then they marvelled at "the narrow escape they had on the Twelfth of July, 1860- not from the Roman Catholic party- but from the natives."

[41]Ibid., p. 17.

Although there were various Orange lodges formed from 1842 onwards it was not until 26 December 1867 that a Grand Lodge for New Zealand was constituted.[42] The Grand Lodge of New Zealand covered only the North Island. In the South Island, a lodge was opened at Lyttleton in 1864 but this was established by a private warrant. Once the Grand Lodge was formed in Auckland it refused to recognize their Canterbury counterparts.

In 1869 the Canterbury Grand Secretary wrote to the Grand Lodge in Ireland to request the authority to open their own Grand Lodge. The reply was to accept the desire of the Christchurch people to have their own Grand Lodge, but the Irish Grand Lodge stated that "the practice uniformly acted upon by this Grand Lodge has been not to interfere with the organization of the Institution when established in any on the colonies, but to leave its action quite independent and self governing."[43] As a result of this affirmation the Grand Lodge of the Middle Island was constituted.[44] It is important to note that although the Orange lodges in New Zealand looked to the Grand Lodge of Ireland for the authority to grant warrants, their Irish counterparts seemed to desire self-determination for their sister lodges abroad. As long as lodges were being established, it was not a major concern who set up independent Grand Lodges. The spread of Orangeism was clearly the greatest priority. (For an overview of the origins of the L.O.I. in New Zealand, see Table 3).

Table 3: Chronology of the Establishment of the L.O.I. in New Zealand.

1843-	First meeting of an Orange Lodge in New Zealand.
1867-	Establishment of Grand Lodge of New Zealand- encompassed North Island only.
1870-	Opening of Grand Lodge of the Middle Island.
1883-	North Island Lodge changed its name to Grand Orange Lodge, North Island of New Zealand. Middle Island Lodge became known as Grand Orange Lodge, Middle Island of New Zealand.
1888-	First Ladies Lodge opened in Wellington.
1908-	Amalgamation of North Island and Middle Island Grand Orange Lodges, to become Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand.

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[42]Ibid., p. 23. As a result of the Grand Lodge being established, the numbers changed on the warrants for the existing lodges. No. 1 warrant was issued on 3 February 1868 which simplified the process of issuing warrants to subsequent lodges.

[43]Joseph Carnahan, Life and Times of William the Third and History of Orangeism, Auckland, Star Office, 1890, p. 293. This letter was written by the Grand Lodge of Ireland in December 1869.

[44]Ibid., p. 293. The Grand Lodge of the Middle Island consisted of the provinces of Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury, Otago, Southland, and Westland.

Further changes to the clarity of the purpose of Orangeism in New Zealand involved the decision in 1883 to change the name of the Grand Lodge of New Zealand to the Grand Orange Lodge of the North Island, New Zealand. This distinguished it from its southern counterpart- the Grand Orange Lodge of the Middle Island.[45] This act signified the separateness of the two Grand Orange Lodges. These developments led to a lack of unity in New Zealand Orangeism. They remained distinct entities until 1908 when they were amalgamated to form one Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand.[46]

The Orange Institution in New Zealand had a hierarchical structure that involved two degrees: the Orange and Royal Arch Purple (R.A.P.) Degrees The Loyal Orange Institution in New Zealand was generally split into three types of lodges. At the top was the Grand Lodge whose officers had the titles of Worshipful Grand Master, Worshipful Deputy Master, Worshipful Chaplain and so on. These officers were elected each year and the rest of the Grand Lodge consisted of all the officers being elected through ballots.[47] Next was the District Lodge which was formed whenever there were three or more private lodges (the third type of lodge). The purpose of the District lodges included hearing any appeals on the election of Private lodge officers and reporting to the Grand Lodge on any matters concerning election of officers, suspension of members and suspension of warrants of any Private lodges.[48]

The third type of Orange lodge was the Private lodge where the members took part in the fraternal aspects of Orangeism, such as the conferring of degrees. It was also here

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[45]Op. cit., Carnahan, Brief History, pp. 37-38.

[46]Ibid., p. 35-38. At the Triennial Council (the worldwide meeting of Orangemen) in July 1883, in London, they resolved that "in order to promote the interests of Orangeism in New Zealand, it be a recommendation to the Orange Grand Lodge meeting in the North Island that it henceforth bear the title of the 'Grand Orange Lodge of North Island, New Zealand;' and that the Grand Lodge of the Middle Island, being separate and independent, continue to bear the name..."

[47]Laws and Ordinances of the Loyal Orange Institution of the Middle Island New Zealand, Timaru, Sentinel Office, 1885, p. 19.

[48]Laws and Ordinances of the Loyal Orange Institution of New Zealand, Auckland, "Free Press" Office, 1883, pp. 13-14.

that the members joined in social occasions and learnt secret passwords and rituals.[49] There was a strict observance of rules and regulations in all of these three types of Orange lodges. These rules covered the aims and qualifications of Orangemen, general rules governing behaviour, the rules for the different types of lodges, suggested opening and closing prayers and the order of business at a meeting. The essence of the Orange Institution was, of course, in the membership. Members' beliefs and advancement in their lodges were strictly controlled.

The R.A.P Degree had different sets of passwords and signs from the Orange Degree. Early in the formation of the Orange Institution there was a distinction between these two Degrees. To be admitted into the R.A.P. Order the prerequisite was a term of probation of six months for over 20 years of age and twelve months for under 20 years of age. This was of course after having already been an Orangeman and being balloted.[50] Sometimes the withholding of the R.A.P. Degree was used as discipline for ordinary members. An example of this was with a Brother Newton Field whose admission to the R.A.P. Degree was postponed for three months because he was sympathetic to Home Rule.[51] Such actions indicate a form of ideological control on members who did not conform to the political beliefs of those in charge. Nowhere in any of the laws of the Orange Institution was there a reference to political events such as the Home Rule movement. Under the regulations of admission to the R.A.P. Order a candidate was only admitted under ballot, "one black ball in seven to exclude" the candidate so that a postponement would mean that if the Field changed his views then he would not be excluded from the R.A.P. Order.[52]

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[49]Ibid., p. 14.

[50]Op. cit., Laws and Ordinances, 1885, p. 19.

[51]'Loyal Orange Lodge No. 19 Oamaru Minute Book 1882-1914.', 18 November 1913.

[52]Constitution and Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of New Zealand, North Island, Auckland, Star Office, 1906, p. 23.

The Black lodges were founded in Ireland two years after the formation of the L.O.I. They attempted to become a part of the Orange Institution but in the early years membership of these Black lodges was forbidden by the Orange Institution.[53] By the time they arrived in New Zealand, although they claimed to be separate they were essentially associate institutions. To become a member of the Black lodges, later known as the Royal Black Association, membership in the Orange Institution was necessary.

An important component in any discussion about the formation and subsequent spread of Orangeism is what an Orangeman had to believe to be a member of that Society. Like the Freemasons the Orange Institution had its own rituals of initiation, passwords, rules and regulations that governed both behaviour and lodge practice. The Orange Institution drew up rules and regulations in each country and these rules were in published form and were subject to various amendments as deemed necessary. The laws of the Orange Institution in New Zealand commonly went under the title of 'Laws and Ordinances' and when the north and south Grand Lodges were separate, before 1908, each had their own published set of rules. These general rules governed how officers were installed and could encompass anything from how one was admitted as a member to the expulsion of members. It is in the reading of these rules that one can learn about the code of conduct for members. Two forms of discipline were suspension and expulsion. Offences ranged from non-payment of dues to "offences against religion and morality."[54]

The code of punishment reveals what was seen as undesirable by the Orange lodges and it also reveals the desirable ideal for everyday life. By a process of inversion the desirable behaviours are highlighted and this shows what principles were difficult for members to maintain. An illustrative example of this may be seen in relation to the Oamaru L.O.L. No. 19 which in 1882 dealt with the case of Thomas Robertson who was charged

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[53]Tony Gray, The Orange Order, London, The Bodley Head, 1972, pp. 211-218. The black lodges also known as the Royal Black Association (R.B.A.), trace their roots back to the Crusades and the Knights of Hospitallers and Knights of Malta. Their origin seems to have been in Ireland and they were formed after the L.O.I. The R.B.A. seems to be more Masonic in structure and to become a member one had to be an Orangeman. Instead of lodges they have preceptories and they call each other 'Sir Knight'. There is no female equivalent to the Ladies Orange Lodges. A New Zealand Grand Black Chapter of Knights was instituted on Christmas Day, 1905. No history of the R.B.A. in New Zealand has been done.

[54]Ibid., p. 9.

with marrying a Roman Catholic.[55] The rules were very clear on this issue- "Any member dishonouring the Institution by marrying a Roman Catholic shall be expelled; and every member shall use his best endeavours to prevent and discountenance the marriage of Protestants with Roman Catholics, such intermarriages generally occasioning domestic unhappiness, and tending to the injury of Protestantism."[56]

Anyone joining the Orange lodge would be more than aware about the ruling on intermarriage. Members such as Thomas Robertson risked inevitable expulsion and loss of friends for his action. He was expelled from the Orange Institution according to the rule already mentioned.[57] The two safeguards against intermarriage were the risk of expulsion and the onus on other members to counsel against intermarriage. It must be remembered that the Catholic Church also viewed mixed marriages as undesirable. Despite these rules against intermarriage these marriages still occurred, which indicates that loyalty to any organization which is quasi-religious such as the Orange lodge or a church such as the Catholic Church, could be overturned by a relationship between two people regardless of interreligious rivalry.[58]

The Loyal Orange Institution viewed good conduct and the respectability of its members as important because this was crucial to their public image. Drunkenness was unacceptable behaviour as temperance was a significant issue in nineteenth century New Zealand. A glance at the church newspapers reveals a preoccupation with this issue. Even the Orange lodges joined in by some becoming temperance lodges. The New Zealand Methodist noted that there "is an Orange Lodge in Christchurch that has the pleasing distinction of being a Temperance Lodge. An advertisement elsewhere shows that these abstaining Orangemen are bent on celebrating the 12th of July in a rational and intelligent

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[55]'Loyal Orange Lodge No. 19 Oamaru Minute Book', 3 January 1882.

[56]Op. cit., Laws and Ordinances, 1885, p. 6.

[57]'Loyal Orange Lodge No. 19 Oamaru Minute Book', 1 August 1882.

[58]It must be remembered that New Zealand was a small society, and that young people were caught between the desire to marry someone of the same faith, and the reality of a limited number of marriage partners to choose from.

manner."[59] The lodge referred to was Walker's Purple Heroes, No. 24; Temperance Lodge. After taking up the temperance cause the Orangemen were seen by such churches as the Methodists as being more respectable. The Orangemen in Ireland had acquired reputations of drunken celebrations and violent conduct. The orderly celebrations evident in New Zealand must have encouraged members of the different Protestant churches in New Zealand to join the L.O.I.

Just as there were rules regulating the public life of members there were also the elaborate rituals that began with a member's initiation into the Orange Institution. The rules and regulations do not mention any details of an initiation ceremony. Since the Orange Institution was a secret society they could not commit to paper what happened as that would nullify the mystery surrounding their initiation ceremony. Thus the only examples of these ceremonies are from disaffected members who felt compelled to 'expose' the Orange Institution.

E. Lewis was as Australian ex-Orangeman who claimed to have been an Assistant Chaplain and Arch Purple man of the Campbell Lodge No. 130, of the Orange Institution in Victoria, and he details the initiation of a candidate into the Royal Arch Purple Degree. The initiation involved the candidate being stripped of all clothing except for his pants and being blind folded. Before entering the lodge room there was some questioning and once inside, the ritual test began. This ritual test was based on biblical incidents such as travelling through the wilderness and crossing the Jordan river. Once the ritual test was completed the candidate then became initiated into the R.A.P. Order.[60] The initiation ceremony described by Lewis gives some details of each ritual test but essentially the rest of his narrative is a diatribe against the Orange Institution.

> It is but the simple truth to say that these ceremonies are, as is befitting the methods of such ardent supporters of the open Bible, a wretched and disgustingly stupid travesty of incidents narrated in Scripture history, and whilst such ceremonies are strikingly characteristic of the Order, they must, when described, fill any decent Protestant, who has the slightest love or veneration for the Holy Scripture, with indignation and loathing for such blasphemous tomfoolery.[61]

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[59] New Zealand Methodist, 7 July 1888.

[60] E. Lewis, Orangeism Exposed, Melbourne, Advocate Office, 1899? pp. 12-15.

[61] Ibid., p. 12.

The extent to which Lewis belittled or even exaggerated the initiation ceremony cannot be known but leaving aside the vehement attacks the essential elements remain. They are the features of a classic rite of passage.

Using a Masonic example, Mary Ann Clawson relates the stages the candidate undertakes. Since the Orange Institution borrowed aspects of Masonic ritual and symbolism, the comparisons between them are very apparent. The process of initiation could proceed in the same manner as the following example.

> They begin with the blindfolding of the candidate and some kind of alteration in his dress to make it more uniform and anonymous. The change in dress works to divest him of his identity and status in the outside world, while the blindfold disorientates him, isolates him from social contact or cues and infuses him with a sense of vulnerability. He must overcome his fears and past a ritual test in order to be transformed and incorporated into the fraternal union.[62]

Clawson outlines the essentials that are also incorporated into the Orange rituals of initiation into the R.A.P. Order. The ritual test is important and even Lewis graphically illustrates how at various stages in the initiation the candidate has a sword pointed at his breast and even beaten on the shoulders, legs and chest with branches which according to Lewis resulted in some instances with "blood flowing from wounds."[63] After comparing men's and women's secret societies, Clawson makes the observation that the male initiate has to undergo a ritual test where it is by his own courage that he is "incorporated into the brotherhood." The female counterpart is invariably "rescued and adopted into the sisterhood" which means that she is dependent on the goodwill of others.[64] The implicit conclusion of this point is that in these secret societies the sex roles reflect a view of a society where men have to prove themselves while women are seen as helpless and dependent on the charity of others.

In the early years of the Orange Institution the membership consisted of men only and this did not change until the mid-nineteenth century when the Association of Loyal Orangewomen of Ireland was formed. In 1907, in Belfast, a published compilation of Orange and Protestant songs included one called "The Ladies' Orange Lodges"-

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[62]Op. cit., Clawson, pp. 196-197.

[63]Op. cit., Lewis, p. 14.

[64]Op. cit, Clawson, p. 198.

The Orange cause is booming strong
Since ladies joined the Order, O!
They gain large numbers all along
From centre to the border, O!
Long live the lasses, O!
Long live the lasses, O!
Our English girls shine bright as pearls,
Arrayed in Blue and Orange, O!

For love of country and of creed
They crowd round William's banner, O!
From James and priests their sires he freed,
To his immortal honour, O!
Long live the lasses, O!
Long live the lasses, O!
The Orange movement's doubly strong.
Upheld by Orange lasses, O![65]

Despite the rousing sentiments in this song, the Ladies Lodges in Ireland became dormant in the year 1887. They were not resurrected until 1911, in reaction to the 'Ne Temere' decree by the Roman Catholic Church which declared void any marriage between Catholics and Protestants unless it was performed by a Roman Catholic priest. The idea of reviving the Association was to discourage such mixed marriages.[66] Despite this Association, the Irish Orange lodges did not offer any established model for the New Zealand scene.

The first female Orange lodge to be formed in New Zealand was opened in Wellington on 11 October 1888. It was called "The Orange Lily" No. 1 Ladies Lodge and as one newspaper noted "all the officers are women."[67] The female Orange Association in New Zealand had clear objectives-

> This Association is formed of females desirous of supporting, to the utmost of their power the principles and practices of the Protestant Religion; to afford assistance to the distressed members of the Association; for the upbringing of their offspring in the Protestant faith; and otherwise promoting such laudable and benevolent purposes as may tend to the due ordering of religion and Christian charity, and the supremacy of law, order, and Constitutional freedom.
>
> The members assemble in honour of King William III, Prince of Orange, whose name they bear, and whose immortal memory they hold in reverence, tending, as he did, under Divine Providence, to the overthrow of the most oppressive bigotry, and the restoration of pure religion and liberty...Disclaiming an intolerant spirit, the Association demands as an indispensable

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[65] A Collection of Orange and Protestant Songs, compiled and arranged by William Peake, Belfast, Published at the Offices of the "Belfast News-Letter", 1907, p. 54. This collection was published under the authority of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, and the Grand Black Chapter of Ireland.

[66] Billy Kennedy, A Celebration 1690-1990: The Orange Institution, Belfast, Grand Lodge of Ireland, 1990, p. 64.

[67] 'The Orange Lily Minute Book', 11 October 1888.

> qualification...that the candidate shall be deemed incapable of persecuting or injuring any person on account of his or her religion.[68]

To become a member of a Ladies Lodge, a woman was also required to- love God and Jesus Christ; have a humane and compassionate disposition; strenuously oppose the Church of Rome; be faithful to the British monarchy, as long as they remained Protestant; and be prudent and guided by temperance and sobriety. It was crucial that a member was Protestant and she "must not be, nor have been, a Roman Catholic or member of the Greek Church, or married to one."[69]

The newspapers saw the establishment of the first Ladies Lodge as worth commending. In reality however, the women's role in the Orange lodge remained in second place to the men. When it came to the annual celebrations the women did not march with the men but assembled at the church waiting for the men to arrive. Once this occurred they were saluted and then marched into the church.[70] The newspapers used the word 'auxiliary' when referring to the Ladies Lodges' connection with the male lodges. The Ladies Lodges were attached to individual lodges. The No. 1 "No Surrender" Ladies Orange Lodge from Christchurch was attached to No. 4 District Lodge.[71] There was always a male 'covering' which meant that the Ladies Lodges did not have the same autonomy as their male counterparts.

Some differences are apparent between the ladies and mens lodges. First is the hierarchical structure which is the same except for the two top positions. Instead of having a Master and Deputy Master the ladies had a President and Vice-President. The distinction may have been to differentiate the Ladies Lodges officers from their male counterparts. At a special meeting in Christchurch on 8 February 1889 there was a motion approving the formation of Ladies Lodges. Brother Anderson "spoke of the success these Lodges had

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[68]Female Orange Association- Laws and Ordinances in Connection with The Grand Lodge of the Middle Island of New Zealand, Christchurch, Caygill and Co., 1888, p. 1.

[69]Ibid., p. 2.

[70]'Orange Lily Minute Book', 11 October 1888.

[71]Op. cit., Carnahan, Brief History, p. 300.

achieved in the United States of America, and he had no doubt that, properly introduced, they would be a power for good in the Middle Island."[72]

The Loyal Orange Institution in America had the Loyal Orange Ladies Institution of the United States of America as their women's auxiliary. It was founded in 1876. They did not formally link up to its male counterpart until 1906.[73] The colonial experience highlighted different needs. Just as the male Orange lodges met a social, religious and political need for the men, the Ladies Lodges also met a need. A noticeable feature of the Ladies Lodges was the coming together of women who were not only like-minded but who also had a feeling of sisterhood. This was borne out by the use of the title 'sister' when referring to members. Using this title would have been a 'translation' of 'brother' from the male lodges. The concept of brotherhood had to be redefined to incorporate a sisterhood. The sisterhood in the Orange Association had certain requirements:

> she must be true and faithful to every Orange woman in all just actions, and not wrong, or know her to be wronged or injured, if in her power to prevent it; and that she must not in any manner communicate or reveal any of the proceedings of her sister Orange women in lodge assembled, nor any matter or thing therein communicated to her, unless to a sister Orange woman, well knowing her to be such...[74]

Although in the early years of the Ladies Lodges in New Zealand the officers in them were women, they still had to be represented at the annual Grand Orange Lodge sessions by men.[75] Not only were delegates for the annual sessions men but there were also elected Ladies Lodge Instructors who were required to be present at any elections of officers for the Ladies Lodges.[76] Clearly in the early stages of the Ladies Lodges development there was a definite male presence when elections or matters of the Grand Orange Lodge were in session. Although women were not present at these sessions they could still put forward motions via male delegates representing their lodge. The Ladies

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[72]Lyttleton Times, 11 February 1889.

[73]Michael F. Funchion (ed.), Irish American Voluntary Organizations, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1983, p. 224.

[74]Op. cit., Female Orange Association, p. 2.

[75]Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, Middle Island. Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Session, 1905, p. 6.

[76]Ibid., p. 12.

Lodges did have the power to make by-laws, as long as they conformed with the General Laws of the Association, and were sanctioned by the Grand Lodge Executive.[77] At the half-yearly session of the Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, North Island, on 12 July 1907, the Ladies L.O.L. No. 7 proposed that they be able to appoint their own Worshipful Mistress and Deputy Mistress. This motion was carried unanimously.[78] By gaining further independence from their male counterparts the Ladies Lodges travelled a step closer to being considered equals.

It is difficult to establish the numerical strength of the Loyal Orange Institution throughout its history in New Zealand. The reason for this is that being a secret society it did not submit its numbers to the government unlike the Friendly Societies who were required to do this. Even among the Grand proceedings of the annual sessions, the reports only made vague references to the numerical strength of some lodges. A figure for the overall institution was mentioned when the two Grand Lodges of the North Island and Middle Island amalgamated.

Major Gilchrist, Grand Secretary of the Grand Council of Australasia, had been invited to perform the ceremony of amalgamation between the North and Middle Island Grand Lodges in 1908. The Nation reported that he "gave some interesting facts and figures concerning the Loyal Orange Institution, and mentioned that in 1905 there were 31,000 members in Australasia, of which number 3048 belonged to New Zealand. (Applause). And we were still making progress."[79] This figure of 3048 is difficult to confirm in the absence of available figures. Whatever the true figures may have been, the best way to gauge numerical strength was through the annual banquets and parades, although this would include supporters and sympathizers as well as members. These numbers varied from year to year especially as some areas did not always have an annual parade.

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[77]Op. cit., Female Orange Association, p. 7.

[78]Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, North Island, 1907-1908, p. 3.

[79]The Nation, March 1958. This was a reprint of the 1 May 1908 newspaper.

A sense of the numerical presence of the Orange Institutions in New Zealand society was conveyed by public displays such as parades. The ritual parade was an opportunity for the Orangemen to declare their objectives to the wider community and to express that they were a unified fraternity. The parades were a peculiar part of New Zealand colonial society.[80] Regimentation was a significant aspect of the Loyal Orange Institution. This orderliness was indicative of a Protestantism that was loyal to both God and the British monarchy. The impression was one of a respectable institution that was not disorderly and seditious like the Fenians or Ribbonmen. This 'orderliness' was particularly demonstrated in the annual parades. The Irish experience had shown that these parades were a focus for factional rivalry between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants which increased sectarian tension. Yet in New Zealand a riot was an unusual occurrence despite the obvious tensions between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in New Zealand.

The funeral of an Orangeman was another occasion when Orangemen would gather in full regalia and declare to the public their brotherhood by showing their shared responsibility. An advertisement would be put in the newspaper inviting other Orangemen to attend the funeral. The Grand Lodge provided a Book of Ceremonies wherein was proscribed the format for the funeral service of a member. The orderliness is apparent in the way the procession is arranged. They would walk four abreast, newly admitted first, oldest last, officers bringing up the rear and the Master of the Lodge walking alone behind them. At the cemetery they would form an oval around the grave with the officers on the inside of the circle with the relatives. The Master stood at the head of the grave while the Chaplain was at the foot. The members with joined and crossed hands salute the deceased member three times.[81] Once this was done the Chaplain conducted a short service which was full of biblical imagery about death and resurrection. The service ended with a hymn and a short prayer by the Chaplain.[82] Finally, "in solemn silence the Master shall drop his

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[80]See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion on parades.

[81]Book of Ceremonies: Reception of Grand Officers, Ritual of Installation, Inauguration of New Lodges and Funeral Service., Christchurch, Theo. Cox, January 1910, p. 16.

[82]Ibid., pp. 16-21.

rosette, orange ribbon, or flower, into the grave upon the coffin. The brethren shall then move round the grave in single file, each stopping at the foot of the grave and depositing his rosette, ribbon, or flower, in the grave..."[83] The corporate responsibility for a fellow member who had died, transcended the particular church of which the deceased was a member. It was the L.O.I. that had the special honour of farewelling him. The importance of recognizing the death of members was always noted in the Annual Grand Lodge Proceedings. The name of the deceased, lodge and office held (if any) were always printed.

The membership of the Orange Institution was largely dependant on religious connections but the relationship between the Orange Institution and the Protestant churches in New Zealand was tentative in nature. Membership of Orange lodges tended to be drawn from Anglican and Presbyterian churches. The other Protestant churches such as Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists and Church of Christ were still numerically small in New Zealand. It must be recognized that Orangeism was not tied to any one Protestant denomination. Unlike Irish Catholics who are readily identifiable, to locate Irish Protestants one has to search all the Protestant denominations.

In 1869 the Auckland Orange lodge attempted to encourage ministers to identify themselves with Orangeism. This would probably have been in the role of Orange chaplain. The Venerable Archdeacon John Lloyd, an old Orangeman himself was approached for this purpose. Carnahan observed that the Orangemen thought that "the dear old Church of England, so much praised in Orange song, and which supplied the best speakers in the old land, would be proud of the position."[84] This assumption proved wrong as Lloyd could not publicly identify himself with the Institution because Bishop Selwyn would not allow it. Unwilling to let this incident mar the opening of their new hall the Orangemen tried to solicit the services of Reverend D. Bruce, a Presbyterian minister whom they had never met. Bruce listened and gave his affirmative answer. Carnahan states that the Anglicans "lost not a few of her best members" after Lloyd's refusal and the Presbyterians gained some staunch

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[83] Ibid., p. 21.

[84] Op. cit., Carnahan, Brief History, p. 19.

supporters.[85] This episode illustrates how some members of the Orange Institution did not have any undying allegiance to any denomination. In essence, if a church would not support Orange principles then they would join one that did.

The exclusiveness and driving force which attracted members and bound them together is revealed in a pamphlet attributed to Reverend Thomas Drew (author of many Orange songs and pamphlets) called Twenty Reasons for being an Orangeman. Among the list offered was the reason that "an Orangeman is bound to show forth, by his life, his desire of man's salvation, his obedience to the dictates of Protestantism, and his efforts to deliver Romanists from mental perversion and spiritual slavery."[86]

The overriding emphasis of Orangeism was the desire to see Protestantism dominate and for Roman Catholics to realize that they were caught up in a religious system that was essentially 'spiritual slavery.' Throughout this pamphlet there is a strong evangelical tone that contrasts the liberty in Christ that Protestants enjoy with the enslavement that is thrust upon Roman Catholics. The strong tone and expressive language used illustrates the evangelical fervour that was the driving force behind Orangeism.

Due to the intensity of feeling that Orangemen felt towards Catholicism, it is important to note that they would accept a convert into their ranks. In any Laws and Ordinances of Orange lodges there is the provision that, "No person who at any time has been a Roman Catholic, or married to one, will be admitted into the Institution unless he has been balloted for and elected in the Lodge in which he was proposed, and such election confirmed by the Grand Lodge previous to his initiation."[87] As long as a candidate had shown a definite change, then with approval an initiation into the lodge could occur. Under these provisions even former Catholic priests became Orangemen.[88] The conversion of individuals from Catholicism to Protestantism was encouraged by Orangemen. This emphasizes the evangelical mission of Orangemen and highlights their hatred of

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[85]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[86]Thomas Drew, Twenty Reasons for being an Orangeman, Christchurch, Caygill & Co., 1898, p. 1.

[87]Op. cit., Laws and Ordinances, 1883, p. 6.

[88]See Chapter 5.

Catholicism which was seen as a 'perverted system.' The division between the individual Catholic and the Church was not always stressed by Orangemen and thus individual Catholics could be targeted along with their religion.

The Loyal Orange Institution in New Zealand was more than just a group of 'militant' Protestants. It was not simply focused on fraternalism, the internal dynamic, but it was also a "religious and political society."[89] The religious adherence was straightforward but their political views could be a point of contention within their own ranks. From the New Zealand stance, their politics were summed up as "Loyalty to the British Crown and Constitution, and the maintenance of a Protestant succession on the Throne; also, Fealty to the Constitution of the Colony in which we live, with a jealous watchfulness over our civil and religious rights and privileges."[90] These generalized allegiances state their resolve to uphold the British monarchy if it remained Protestant, and the Constitution in New Zealand.

This "jealous watchfulness" suggested that the Loyal Orange Institution saw itself as the watchdog of civil and religious liberty.[91] According to one set of general rules for the North Island lodges in 1883, a member could be punished for "voting for a Roman Catholic" in the government elections.[92] This highlights the sense of control that the L.O.I. tried to enforce on their members. Grand Master H.J. Ranger, in 1902 at the Annual Session of the Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, Middle Island, implored to those gathered- "I pray that ye Orangemen rise up in your might, and take an active part in political, municipal, and educational matters. Orangemen, assert yourselves."[93]

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[89]Op. cit., Drew, p. 4.

[90]Ibid., p. 4.

[91]It must be remembered that Protestantism and Liberty were the twin foundations of Orangeism.

[92]Op. cit., Laws and Ordinances, 1883, p. 8.

[93]Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, Middle Island. Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-Sixth Annual Session, 29 December 1902, p. 6. Although it may seem that Orangemen were urged to vote on 'Orange' issues they did not necessarily do so. When the Oamaru L.O.L. No. 19 received a letter from another lodge in May 1898, asking them to cooperate with the securing of an inspection of Catholic convents, they showed reluctance at using this as a single voting issue. This lodge agreed with the idea of the inspection but refused to reject any Parliamentary candidate who did not agree with them on this single issue. 'Loyal Orange Lodge No. 19 Minute Book', 16 May 1898.

The Orangemen did indeed assert themselves some years later. The catalyst for this was the visit of the papal delegate, Archbishop Bonaventure Cerreti, who toured New Zealand between February and March 1916. The mayor of Auckland, James Gunson, greeted the papal delegate in his mayoral robes, something he did not do at his own Methodist Conference. The press was also complimentary about the Delegate. This raised the ire of a group of Auckland Orangemen led by Howard Elliot, an Australian-born Baptist minister, who decided to take action. In keeping with the anti-Catholicism of Ulster Protestantism these men circulated a pamphlet outlining their protest. The pamphlet, called The Papal Delegate and the Mayor which made the accusations that Mayor Gunson of playing for the Catholic vote , that the press were cowards, and that Pope Benedict XV started World War I.[94]

As a result of Mayor Gunson's 'betrayal' these men set up a 'Committee of Vigilance', that is, vigilance against Catholicism. The committee's first task was to circulate another pamphlet called Rome's Hideous Guilt in the European Carnage. This placed the responsibility for the war on the papacy. The Orangemen believed that the papacy was trying to restore its temporal power, and in the process, this would destroy Protestantism. Gunson and the Auckland City Council were criticized for pandying to the Catholic Church.[95] This committee was the beginnings of the Protestant Political Association which would gain wider membership than the L.O.I.[96]

The conscription issue in New Zealand during World War I was controversial as the government attempted to conscript clergy theological students and the Marist Brothers in 1917.[97] The Catholics concluded a deal with the government which meant that they would not be conscripted. There was a storm of protests against the Catholics and it was in this

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[94]Rory Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922', University of Cambridge, Ph.D., 1990, pp. 92-93.

[95]Harold S. Moores, 'The Rise of the Protestant Political Association: Sectarianism in N.Z. during World War I', University of Auckland, M.A., 1966, pp. 143-144.

[96]P.S. O'Connor, 'Sectarian Conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920', Political Science, vol. 19, no. 1, July 1967, p. 6.

[97]See P.S. O'Connor, 'Storm over the Clergy- New Zealand 1917', Journal of Religious History, vol. 4, no. 2, December 1966.

context that Elliot decided to begin a political organization to fight 'Romanist' influence on the government. He held a series of meetings up and down the country before launching the P.P.A. in Auckland on 11 July 1917.[98] The P.P.A. was a separate entity to the L.O.I. but they still shared the same P.O. Box number.[99] The P.P.A. had a short-lived success and as it wound up about 1932.

Orangeism had become a very visible organization due to their parades, prominent figures, social involvements and also by the permanent structures of their buildings. The 'Orange landscape' was a significant contribution to the New Zealand social scene. The spirit of King William and the cause of Protestantism was able to be seen in visible terms through the halls. A noticeable feature of the Orange halls was that unlike the grandiose Masonic temples, these halls had a functional use that was reflected in the unostentatious architecture. The placement of these buildings was also crucial as they were generally built on main thoroughfares in the cities and towns throughout New Zealand. The Orange hall in Auckland was built on Newton Road and the Christchurch lodge was built on Worcester Street. This forward planning always meant that these buildings were well utilized by the general public for social functions. The obvious use of the hall was for lodge meetings and the secret initiation rituals and Orange celebrations in the form of a soiree were able to take place on their own premises. The Orange lodge hall "through its functions, form and location reflected the centrality of the fraternity within much of protestant...society."[100]

The Loyal Orange Institution in New Zealand did not become a benefit society in the mould of other friendly societies such as the Oddfellows or Rechabites. It did however become a charitable society and in this sense it did change in character from its Irish agrarian secret society origins. The most notable source of charity that was gained by members was when they died. The Laws and Ordinances of the two Grand Lodges gave provision for helping the widow pay for "a substantial and respectable coffin" but with the proviso that the lodge where he was a member only had to pay if such assistance was

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[98]Op. cit., O'Connor, 'Sectarian Conflict', pp. 6-8.

[99]Ibid., p. 8.

[100]Op. cit., Houston & Smyth, p. 134.

required.[101] There was also a Death Benefit Fund but the details for this were not clear. At an annual session for the Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, Middle Island in 1905, there was a reference to "abnormal claims" being made on this fund during that year because eight members had died in rapid succession.[102] Apart from this reference to members who had died there were no other monetary benefits for members.

The Orangemen's outlet for charity tended to consist of donations to worthy causes such as the St. Andrew's Protestant Orphanage in Nelson.[103] These forms of charity made the Loyal Orange Institution more than a semi-secret society. It was gradually becoming a charitable institution. This transplanted institution was undergoing a transformation as its surrounding environment was not hostile. The Loyal Orange Institution in Ireland was essentially a minority of Protestants amongst Catholics whereas in New Zealand the Catholics were the minority and the Protestants strong in numbers. This change of environment contributed to the changes in the L.O.I.

Pecuniary benefits were not the main attraction for Orange Lodge membership in New Zealand. This benevolence "was an offshoot of the whole social meaning of Orangeism."[104] The fraternal aspect of the Institution remained paramount. It may be said of New Zealand, as is said of the L.O.I. in Canada that-

> Like the other fraternal organizations, it crystalized 'an ethos of mutuality' but unlike the others its ideology embraced a whole set of political and religious ideals which appealed to a wide range of protestants, regardless of class. In the political sphere it exuded a sense of power which was perhaps more mythical than real but nevertheless proved effective as an agent for recruitment.[105]

The ritual and confraternity of Orangeism satisfied a social need in colonial New Zealand by reinforcing the social brotherhood, and later the sisterhood, who believed in the cause of Protestantism.

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[101] Op. cit., Constitutions and Laws, 1906, p. 25.

[102] Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, Middle Island. Annual Session, 1905, p. 9.

[103] 'L.O.L. No. 21 "No Surrender" Minute Book 1899-c. 1908', 21 November 1902.

[104] Op. cit., Houston & Smyth, p. 141.

[105] Ibid., p. 141.

Chapter 3.

"If Not- Why Not?": Hibernianism in New Zealand.[1]

The Loyal Orange Institution was an exclusively Protestant organization whereas the Hibernian Society represented the Catholic community. Even so, the two institutions did have features in common. Both were associated with international bodies and were voluntary societies with voluntary fees. As both groups were of Irish origins they had a loyalty to Ireland but neither group was restricted to 'Irish only'. Whether becoming an Orangeman or a Hibernian, there were certain moral and religious requirements that had to be met and as both were fraternities, they showed their solidarity through such events as parades, meetings and funerals. The L.O.I. and the Hibernian Society used ritualism and symbolism in these events. Internally, both groups were fraternities and this incorporated brotherhood, and subsequently separate ladies lodges and branches developed. To the wider community, however, they appeared to be very sectarian in nature as each was exclusively Protestant or exclusively Catholic. Ironically their similarities contributed to the sectarian divide between the two institutions.

As the L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S. were associated to two totally different Irish communities in New Zealand, this was reflected in their respective institutions. See Table 4.

Table 4: Major Differences Between the L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S.

L.O.I.	H.A.C.B.S.
Progressively became a benefit society.	Primarily established as a benefit society.
Secret Society.	Had ritualism & laws but these were not secret.
Overt political aims.	Indirect political involvement eg. Finance to groups supporting Home Rule.
Loyalty primarily to Protestantism.	Loyalty primarily to the Catholic Church. Secondarily to Irish nationalism.
From various denominations.	From one denomination- unity.
Overtly anti-Catholic.	Not overtly anti-Protestant.
Came directly from Ireland.	Originated in Ireland but came via Australia.

[1]Anon., 'Are you a Member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians? If Not- Why Not?', Dundalk, Eire, Dundalk Democrat, no date.

The L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S. were the two most prominent Irish-dominated institutions in New Zealand in the nineteenth-century The L.O.I. meshed together members of different Protestant denominations and their loyalty was primarily to Protestantism. The Hibernians were exclusively Catholic and therefore their loyalty was primarily to the Catholic Church. The Catholic Church enforced social control on the Hibernians but they also gave the society a sense of unity. This solidarity gave the Hibernians strength and the Hibernian Society served functions that the Catholic church and hierarchy could not. The Catholic Church had groups such as the "Catholic Young Men" but the church had certain limitations placed on its activities.[2] Most importantly, they could not support their members in time of personal hardship. The Hibernian Society was primarily a benefit society, and as such, it could offer financial security in time of hardship for its members.

The Catholic Church did not need the Hibernian Society as a vehicle for anti-Protestant crusades as it had spokespersons such as Cleary who attacked the Orange Lodges. The Church, through men such as Bishop Moran, also used the Tablet to voice suspicion and concern of Protestant influences on the Catholic community. The Orangemen were aggressive in their campaigning against the Catholic Church and voiced their opinions through speakers and literature, but the Hibernians did not have to be overtly anti-Protestant, as this function was already being fulfilled. Their prime concern was to be a Catholic Friendly Society.

In practical terms the Hibernianism that was instituted in New Zealand was built on the concept of British 'Friendly Societies' rather than secret societies. Friendly societies flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century. P.H.J.H. Grosden describes them as

> ...forms of clubs offering both good fellowship and mutual insurance, the friendly societies had rather earlier origins than the other forms of provident association. In essence many of them owed their origins to the need felt by working men to provide themselves with succour against the poverty and destitution resulting from sickness and death at a time when the community offered only resort to the overseer of the poor.[3]

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[2]W.J. Bray, 'The Advantages of Membership of the Hibernian-Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, from Catholic, National, and Benefit Standpoints' in Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Congress...1904, Melbourne, St Patrick's Cathedral, 1905, pp. 359-360. "To supply his mental needs, and to afford him desirable relaxation, he has the Catholic Young Men's Society; to purify and uplift his spiritual nature, he has the Sodality."

[3]P.H.J.H. Gosden, Self Help. Voluntary Associations in Nineteenth-century Britain, London, B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1973, p. 2.

The financial benefits that were accorded to the members of Friendly societies in Britain were a weekly allowance when a member was sick and the funeral payment for the widow of the deceased member.[4] These were the usual benefits provided by Friendly Societies until the provision of medical attendance arose. This meant taking the advice from a doctor or surgeon and sometimes included a supply of medicines as recommended. The benefit did not include payment for any surgery or specialist treatment.[5] Jack C. Ross stated that "Methodism seemed to have an affinity for Friendly Societies, perhaps because both relied on direct autonomous organizational action to solve problems, and shared similar attitudes about prudence, self-reliance, thrift, and drinking."[6]

The most important aspect of Friendly Societies seemed to be self-reliance. They offered the chance for working class men to band together and take some control over their own lives rather than having the prospect of poverty if they were sick and no provision of an income for their families. In 1797 Sir Frederick Eden conducted an official inquiry into the condition of England's poor. He reported that Friendly Societies were considered to "solve a problem for the rich by their organization of the poor through these societies."[7] Unfortunately some mismanaged Friendly Societies collapsed through financial exhaustion and so some members never saw their promised benefits.[8]

Some of the Friendly Societies, notably the Independent Order of Oddfellows, Manchester Unity and the Ancient Order of Foresters, developed rituals, lectures, oaths, passwords and secret handshakes. These were all a part of the regular lodge meetings and initiation ceremonies. The influence of Freemasonry was obvious but each group had their own distinctive perspective. The Foresters for instance based their rituals on the legends of

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[4]Ibid., p. 15.

[5]P.H.J.H. Gosden, The Friendly Societies in England 1815-1875, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1961, p. 138.

6Jack Ross, An Assembly of Good Fellows. Voluntary Associations in History, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1976, p. 246.

[7]Ibid., p. 245.

[8]Op. cit., Gosden, Self Help, p. 17.

"Robin Hood and his merrie men."[9] These Friendly Societies offered a special camaraderie to their members.

> Distinctive ritual with the accompanying regalia, ceremonies, grips, passwords and so forth played a considerable part in maintaining both a sense of brotherhood and fellowship among the members and a sense of being different from other men, from those outside the brotherhood, who could not share in its mysteries. This was something which no other form of friendly society was in a position to offer and it played its part in attracting men to join an Oddfellows' lodge or a Foresters' court.[10]

It was against this background that the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society (H.A.C.B.S.) was established in Australia and New Zealand in 1871. In a sense it was formed as a Catholic Friendly Society without the masonic overtones so reminiscent of its rivals and its own chequered past.

Hibernianism has a varied and often complex history. It began as an agrarian secret society and gradually transformed into a benefit or friendly society (especially in the context of Australia and New Zealand). An understanding of Hibernianism gaining its history from voluntary associations with benefits for members will help to differentiate it from its historical enemy, the Loyal Orange Institution. It is important to note that both of these institutions have their origins in the agrarian conflicts in Ireland, but the Hibernianism that arrived in New Zealand via Australia had changed in function from its Irish origins. The L.O.I. however, had come directly to New Zealand from Ireland and therefore was able to maintain stronger ideological links with its homeland.

When the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society celebrated its centennial in Greymouth, New Zealand in 1969 an article in the Greymouth Evening Star claimed that "Rory Oge O More, Prince of Leix, founded the ancient order of Hibernians in 1641."[11] The Ancient Order of Hibernians (A.O.H.) maintained the claim that the Defenders were organized by O'Moore for the defence of 'Faith and Fatherland' and that its motto was Friendship, Unity, and True Christian Charity. There is usually also the claim that the

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[9]Christopher J. Kauffman, Faith and Fraternalism. The History of the Knights of Columbus 1882-1982, New York, Harper & Row, 1982, p. 12.

[10]Op. cit., Gosden, p. 50.

[11]Greymouth Evening Star, 17 May 1969.

Defenders were simply securing the right of Catholics to worship their Catholic faith and once this was achieved they turned to other issues such as landlordism.[12]

The securing of an ancient lineage for a society was a useful way of giving an organization credibility. The Irish used this method to their advantage when trying to gain members. Marianne Elliott, in her study of Irish republicanism from 1791-1815, states that "The secret society has become such a part of modern Irish history that one tends to assume its ancient vintage. In the late eighteenth century, however, it was still something of a novelty, having made its appearance only in 1760."[13] Even though the Hibernians were not a secret society, assuming an ancient lineage proved important to the success of their early development.

The A.O.H. can be traced back to the Defenders who originated in Armagh in the mid-1790s and were first headed by a dissenting minister to protect Catholics from militant Protestant groups such as the Nappagh Fleet and Peep O'Day Boys. The name 'Defenders' was adopted by groups of Catholics resisting Peep O'Day Boy raids.[14] By 1795 the Defenders had become anti-settler, anti-Protestant and anti-English. They were also known for their extreme violence and anti-state belief which could have been in response to the repressive measures instigated by Dublin Castle. Essentially "Defender terror and official terror mirrored each other."[15]

The 'Armagh Outrages' occurred after the Battle of the Diamond in 1795 when a group of Defenders were defeated by a combined Protestant force of such groups as the Peep O'Day Boys and probably members of the Boyne societies. The Orange Society was formed after this in reaction to the Defenders' increased ability to organize. The combining of the Defenders and Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen in 1796 gave the independence movement more numerical strength. This alliance was an uneasy one especially with one of

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[12]J.J. Bergin, History of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Dublin, Ancient Order of Hibernians, 1910, pp. 1-10.

[13]Marianne Elliott, Partners in Revolution. The United Irishmen and France, New Haven & London, Yale University Press, 1982, p. 39.

[14]Hereward Senior, Orangeism in Ireland and Britain 1795-1836, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966, p. 8.

[15]Ibid., pp. 376-377.

the avowed aims of the Defenders' being to 'restore popery' with which the non-sectarian United Irishmen did not agree. According to Bartlett "the United Irishmen were confident that they could divest the Defenders of their anti-Protestant attitudes and 'melt them down' into their organization."[16]

This 'melt down' never did occur and after a failed rebellion in May 1798 there was a disgust at the nature of the rebellion. Foster stated that the "1798 rising was probably the most concentrated episode of violence in Irish history. Mass atrocities were perpetrated in circumstances of chaos and confusion.[17] These "atrocities" alienated the Ulster Presbyterians, and the United Irishmen transformed from an almost exclusively Protestant movement to an exclusive Catholic society after the 1798 rebellion.[18] Elliott concludes that

> The Catholics had been invited to join the republican movement, but finished by taking it over. United Irish republicanism had not been entirely destroyed, rather a garbled version had been preserved for the future in the new martyrology and mythology of the 1790's, which the Catholics had made their own, and which provided much of the emotive passion behind subsequent movements.[19]

This 'Catholic takeover' gathered momentum with the introduction of another secret society- the Ribbonmen. After the failure of the 1798 rising there was still a form of Defenderism at the local level and while having some Protestants in leadership after 1815 it became exclusively Catholic.[20] The Ribbonmen survived well into the nineteenth century and were able to be assimilated into later organizations such as Fenianism, the Land League, Irish National League and the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Hibernianism was still referred to by police in the twentieth century as "Ribbonism".[21]

The present day Ancient Order of Hibernians was essentially a descendant of Ribbonism which was also a Catholic organization. The A.O.H. adopted its title in 1838

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[16]Thomas Bartlett, The Fall and Rise of the Irish Nation. The Catholic Question 1690-1830, Savage, Maryland, Barnes & Noble Books, 1992, p. 212.

[17]R.F. Foster, Modern Ireland 1600-1972, London, Penguin Books, 1989, p. 280.

[18]Marianne Elliott, 'The Origins and Transformation of Early Irish Republicanism', International Review of Social History, XXXIII, 1978, pp. 405-428.

[19]Ibid., p. 428.

[20]Tom Garvin, 'Defenders, Ribbonmen and Others: Underground Political Networks in Pre-Famine Ireland' in C.H.E. Philipin's (ed.), Nationalism and Popular Protest in Ireland, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987.

[21]Ibid., p. 228.

and from that date it was gradually being established in other parts of the world. It is worth noting that the title change to 'Ancient Order of Hibernians' occurred in America before it happened in Ireland.[22] The main difference between Ribbonism and Hibernianism was that the former was a secret society while the latter was a Catholic nationalist society that later evolved into a benefit society.[23]

The A.O.H. was established in America in New York in 1836, but they still maintained that they were the descendants of Rory Oge O'Moore's band founded in 1565 to protect Irish Catholic interests. As already noted, their history lay in the secret Catholic agrarian societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The A.O.H. in America concerned itself with providing sick and death benefits to its members and the fraternal aspect of banding together to celebrate St Patrick's Day usually through parades. The A.O.H. was also concerned with protecting Catholic rights in an anti-Catholic era.[24] An example of this was when Bishop John Hughes of New York called upon the A.O.H. to guard Catholic churches against threats of violence in the mid-nineteenth century.[25]

The origins of the Hibernians in Australia began with the formation of Catholic benefit societies. The origin of the Ballarat Hibernian Society best illustrates the perceived need for a Catholic benefit society. In 1866 Mark Young was elected to the committee of the Ballarat Benevolent Society in Victoria Australia and he noted that many Catholics needed financial assistance when sick. After speaking with two men who were associated with the miners he asked them why they had not joined a Friendly Society. He was told that the miners had an accident fund and that Bishop Goold was not favourable to Catholics who joined secret societies. Young, who was an Oddfellow, knew the benefits of a friendly society so he advocated the formation of a Catholic Friendly Society for men, which did not

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[22]Op. cit., Bergin, p. 34.

[23]Ibid., p. 30. The A.O.H.'s title previously belonged to the St. Patrick's Fraternal Society formed in 1825 in response to the Ribbonmen being outlawed.

[24]Michael F. Funchion (ed.), Irish American Voluntary Organizations, Westport, Connecticut, Greenwood Press, 1983, pp. 50-52.

[25]Op. cit., Kauffman, p. 7.

have any secret passwords or signs. The first meeting was held in the belfry of St Patrick's Cathedral on 1 July 1868.[26]

This same desire for a Catholic benefit society was fulfilled when the St Francis Catholic Benefit Society formed in Melbourne in 1865 (which later developed into the Irish Australian Catholic Benefit Society- I.A.C.B.S.) and the Albury Catholic Benefit Society in New South Wales in 1868. As a result of rivalry between the I.A.C.B.S. and the Ballarat Hibernian Society they decided to amalgamate. These two societies and the Albury Catholic Benefit Society met in Melbourne on 27 April 1871 and decided to become the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society.[27] Professor Patrick O'Farrell comments that

> It was a friendly society whose objectives were to provide relief to members in sickness or accident situations and to pay for funeral expenses through an insurance scheme. As such it was not in an Irish organizational tradition, but an English, which had been imported into Australia in such forms as Oddfellows and Rechabites: one of the reasons why the Catholic Church supported the Hibernian Society was to attract Catholics away from other benefit societies which were believed to have a secret or masonic dimension.[28]

This 'masonic dimension' was mentioned at the Second Australasian Catholic Congress in 1904 when there were three papers presented about the Hibernians. W.J. Bray spoke about the advantages of joining the Hibernians-

> The utilitarian objects of Benefit Societies are such that every prudent tradesman finds it necessary to belong to one of these organizations. For years Catholics laboured under a heavy disadvantage in not having a Catholic Benefit Society to join, and had perforce to belong to organizations whose signs and secrecy were repugnant to them, and whose associations and rituals were painful to the delicate sensibilities of their holy faith.[29]

Catholics in New Zealand faced the same dilemma, as the Catholic hierarchy did not approve of the secret ritualism involved with Friendly Societies. The situation was gradually reversed as branches of the Hibernians were established throughout New Zealand. Davis notes that the Hibernian's membership, like that of the Loyal Orange Institution,

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[26]'Hibernian Centennial, 1869-1969', Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, St Patrick's No. 17 Branch, Greymouth, 1969.

[27]Anon., A History of the Hibernian-Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, from the Earliest Period to...1903, Newcastle, 1903.

[28]Patrick O'Farrell, The Irish in Australia, Kensington, New South Wales University Press, 1993, p. 173.

[29]Op. cit., Bray, p. 359.

increased numerically as a result of immigration in the 1870s.[30] Hibernianism's arrival in New Zealand is surrounded by an air of romanticism. Davis states in his thesis that an unreliable document claimed that a branch of the Fenian Society was established in Addison's Flat in 1869 to work for the release of the Fenian John Boyle O'Reilly who was imprisoned in Western Australia.[31]

In response to the Addison's Flat initiative the Ballarat Hibernian Society sent over their secretary F.H. Byrne in 1869, who landed at Hokitika. A local mining magnate Martin Kennedy (who later became the first president of St Patrick's branch No. 17, Greymouth) noted Byrne's arrival and after a discussion with some other Irishmen, Kennedy asked Byrne to establish a Hibernian branch in Greymouth. The inaugural meeting was held at Brian Boru Hotel on 16 December 1869. Byrne also established branches in Charleston, and Addison's Flat.[32]

The Hibernians maintained closer institutional links with Australia than the Orangemen.[33] The Orangemen dealt with their New Zealand wide business through their own annual Grand Lodge sessions. From the time of the amalgamation of the Catholic benefit societies in 1871, the Hibernians had their Executive Directory based in Melbourne. It comprised the districts of New South Wales, Tasmania, Queensland, Western Australia, Victoria, South Australia and New Zealand. The Hibernians were governed by an Executive that included a president, vice-president, treasurer and secretary and they were controlled by

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[30]Richard P. Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868-1922, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1974, p. 67.

[31]The document claimed that "this society was disowned by the Church, who refused its members the benefit of the sacraments. They therefore abandoned Fenianism and decided to substitute the new organization rising in Victoria under the auspices of the Hibernian Society, hoping to be a pioneer branch in New Zealand." in Richard P. Davis, 'The Irish Catholic Question and New Zealand Society 1868-1922', Otago University, Ph.D, 1968, p. 61. Davis says that although the account was inaccurate it was accepted by Irwin Faris and 'appears substantially correct.' Document from Daniel Moloney Papers at Turnbull Library. This reference is not in Davis' book.

[32]According to Irwin Faris in, Charleston- its Rise and Decline., Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1941, p. 167 , Byrne called it "No. 1, The First" because Addison's Flat had initiated the whole process. The amalgamation of the Hibernians in New Zealand with Australia in 1871 meant that these branches in New Zealand came under the H.A.C.B.S. in 1872. Using J.J. Wilson as his source, Davis claims that the St Joseph's branch established in Dunedin in 1873 was the fourth Hibernian branch in New Zealand. Official records show however that there were at least another three branches formed in addition to those already mentioned- Waimea 1870, Hokitika 1870, Greenstone, Kumara 1871. These were established before the Dunedin branch. See Op. cit., Davis, Irish Issues, p. 65. Davis quotes Wilson p. 3. Lists of branches in A.J.H.R., 1881, H 7, pp. 25-26.

[33]Op. cit., Davis, Irish Issues, p. 68.

deputies elected by District Boards and an Executive Directory Branch at the annual movable meetings.[34]

Originally New Zealand was under the Executive Directory based in Melbourne but in 1877 branches in Otago and Canterbury decided to form the Otago-Canterbury District which was inaugurated on 24 February 1877.[35] Dunedin was the headquarters of the Otago-Canterbury District until 1880 when it moved to Christchurch. The other branches in New Zealand remained under the control of Melbourne. In 1885 a conference was held in Wellington with representatives from all of the New Zealand Hibernian branches and they decided to form one New Zealand District. The first annual meeting of the New Zealand District was held on 17 March 1886 in Auckland. The management of the New Zealand District was then based in Auckland.[36]

The Hibernians in both Australia and New Zealand desired to be seen as a part of the worldwide Catholic scene. This was exemplified by the affiliation of the A.O.H. in America. After a series of transatlantic messages , affiliation with the A.O.H. was finalized at the Biennial Movable Meeting in Melbourne on 27 April 1903,.[37] National Secretary Bree wrote to the Corresponding Secretary James L. Sutton on 15 September 1903 saying that

> This affiliation, which gives to members of either society going from one country to another equal rights, was thus brought to a successful conclusion after many years of negotiations, and may the unity now accomplished be as lasting as the Unity of Faith that has always bound Irish Catholics together wherever their lot in the world may be cast![38]

This affiliation was advantageous for members travelling to America or Britain as well as for members who came to Australia or New Zealand. On the production of the usual medical

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[34]New Zealand Tablet, 22 March 1895.

[35]Ibid., 10 August 1877.

[36]Ibid., 22 March 1895.

[37]Op. cit., Anon., A History of the Hibernian-Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, p. 134.

[38]Ibid., p. 136.

and marital (if applicable) certificates a member of the A.O.H. could be a member in New Zealand.[39]

The transfers between the two organizations were not always as smooth as they would have hoped. An example of this is of a Brother M. Daly who presented his transfer card to St Patrick's No. 82 branch in Christchurch in 1915. This branch accepted him but only "on condition that his clearance was forth coming as there was some doubt as to the exact relations existing between the A.O.H. and the H.A.C.B. Society."[40] The confusion may have been due to the A.O.H. in America having been under the ban of the Catholic Church.[41] O'Farrell has noted that although the two organizations shared the 'Hibernian' name the Australasian Hibernians were not fully aware of the association between the A.O.H. and the Molly Maguires.[42] He demonstrates that while the A.O.H. were more independent and had links with the Molly Maguires, the Australasian Hibernians were firmly under the control of the Catholic Church. This was true both in Australia and New Zealand.

The emphasis on the H.A.C.B.S. being a Catholic society was an important aspect of their existence, as it placed important constraints upon them. Before a candidate was initiated he had to supply a declaration of his age, health, marriage status, and if required a certificate from the Branch Chaplain to prove he was a practical Catholic. After declaring his willingness to abide by the rules of the Hibernians the branch President would say to the candidate-

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[39]General Rules for the Government of the New Zealand District of the Hibernian-Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, Auckland, District Executive, 1904, p. 73.

[40]'St Patrick's Branch, No. 82, H.A.C.B.S. Minute Book, 7 December 1914- 25 June 1923', 16 August 1915.

[41]Op. cit., Davis, Irish Issues, p. 65.

[42]Op. cit., O'Farrell, p. 68. The name Molly Maguires was taken from an Irish agrarian secret society, active in the 1840s. In America the name was coined by a secret organization of Irishmen in the mining districts of Pennsylvania. From 1865-1875 it dominated the mining industry. It was formed to combat the oppressive industrial and living conditions. They often resorted to murder and intimidation.

> Friend, having expressed your willingness to comply with the Rules and Regulations of this Society which you already know consists EXCLUSIVELY of *Catholics* who are Practical Members of the Church, by which it is obligatory that every Member of the Society shall *worthily* receive Holy Communion at least once a year, I have also to remind you that Members of *secret societies* are not *Practical* Members of the Catholic Church; you cannot, therefore, belong to *any* of them whilst a Member of the Society...[43]

The emphasis on members being 'Practical' Catholics indicates a desire for the Hibernians to be more than just another benefit society. It had a definite Catholic character. The need for such a Catholic benefit society is illustrated by Bray who wrote in 1904 that

> Catholics nowadays, in following their daily avocations, find their creed assailed on all sides, and must meet with bigotry, levity and raillery. The intellectual atmosphere of the University, of the counting-house, of the factory, markets and streets reeks with materialism, agnosticism, and indifferentism, and young Catholics must needs breathe this loathsome atmosphere. There is a great danger of infection unless the Catholic refreshes himself often in the oasis of Catholic society.[44]

The Catholic character of the H.A.C.B.S. was evident at the funerals of Hibernian members. The funeral was an important occasion when the members would band together to farewell a fellow 'brother'. Each member called the other "Brother" as this was a common usage in Friendly Societies. The closeness of members in the Hibernians was very pronounced as they were all Catholics and the majority were also of Irish descent. This meant that the unity in life was also strong in death when members participated in a funeral. The funeral was a formal occasion when members in full regalia walked two by two in the funeral procession and at the grave they formed a circle around the grave. As they were all Catholics the local priest presided in the prescribed fashion. The rules of the Hibernians stipulated that "as far as practicable" the members should attend. This indicates a strong desire by the members of a brotherhood to be a visible part of a member's life until death. If the funeral was on a Sunday "any Member absent without sufficient excuse or apology being furnished at or before next meeting of the Branch, shall be fined 1s., to be placed to the Management Fund."[45]

The H.A.C.B.S. was primarily a fraternal male benefit society. While the benefits were extended to members who were married, a notable group that was not catered for was

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[43]Op. cit., General Rules for the H.A.C.B.S., pp. 89-90.

[44]Op. cit., Bray, p. 359. This 'oasis' was also a ghetto and the young "Irish" reacted against it and in Australia, they adopted a nationalist feeling.

[45]Op. cit., General Rules for the H.A.C.B.S., p. 35.

single women. Just as the Catholic males needed the 'brotherhood' as a means of support and solidarity, the women needed a 'sisterhood'. In 1894 the New Zealand Tablet ran an article with the heading 'H.A.C.L.B.S.'

> The introduction of L. among the letters so well known to Hibernians suggests the formation in New Zealand of a "Catholic Ladies' Benefit Society". This is not an altogether novel idea. The matter is being discussed and carefully considered in the neighbouring colonies...It is very important that some provision should be made for a large class of women who, if they fall sick, have no home to go to or friends to fall back upon. By banding themselves together in a Catholic friendly society they would receive, in return for the small weekly or monthly subscription, substantial aid in the time of illness and sisterly friendship in the hour of need.[46]

This article indicated a real need for single Catholic women and also recognized that some benefit societies debarred women from joining. Once this need was established, female branches opened within three years in the four main centres- Dunedin, Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.[47]

Their success was limited as eventually other benefit societies began to offer benefits for single women. By 1899 the New Zealand Tablet noted that "it is a matter of our personal knowledge that in Dunedin, membership of the Women's Branch of the Society would be, under the present arrangements of the parent Society, practically rendered prohibitive owing to the more favourable terms and popular range of benefits offered by rival associations.[48] It is not surprising that given the lack of interest in the Female branches that the Hibernians included in their rules a provision for female members to be admitted into male branches. There was also provision for the amalgamation of branches of both sexes.[49] The Hibernians tried to fulfil a need for single Catholic women to be incorporated into their own benefit society and thus avoid the temptation of joining other benefit societies which could lead to 'mixed marriages'.

The idea of an all inclusive Catholic society appealed to prelates such as Bishop Moran of Dunedin who hoped to use the Hibernians as a rallying point for Catholics and also as a substitute for the secretive Fenianism.[50] Davis notes that in the first issue of the

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[46]New Zealand Tablet, 25 May 1894.

[47]Ibid., 2 August 1895, 18 October 1895, 24 July 1896, 3 December 1897.

[48]Ibid., 9 March 1899.

[49]Op. cit., General Rules for the H.A.C.B.S., p. 80.

[50]Op. cit., Davis, Irish Issues, p. 22.

New Zealand Tablet in 1873 the Hibernians published their aims and objectives and emphasized the avoidance of secrecy which Davis saw mainly aimed at the Fenians but also probably at the Orange Institution.[51] Neither of these two institutions would have been the sole targets. The Catholic Church had a long history of dislike for Freemasonry which had all the trappings of a secret society with its secret rituals, passwords and anti-Catholic strain. The Friendly Societies such as the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Oddfellows also adopted masonic type symbolism and secrecy in their own initiation ceremonies. This is borne out by the New Zealand Tablet which claimed that

> ...where the society has a local habitation and a name, it is difficult to understand how Catholics can become members of benefit associations that are, at best, merely non-Catholic, and as secular as the State-school system, or that, like the Rechabites, are a sort of annex to some Protestant denomination, or that habituate Catholics to the use of signs and grips and passwords, and much of the ridiculous 'flummery' of societies that are in very earnest secret and forbidden by the law of God.[52]

The establishment of a Catholic benefit society was seen as the answer for Catholics who did not want to compromise their faith by belonging to societies whose practices were condemned by the Church. The emphasis on the Catholic nature of the Hibernians is shown by the fact that Popes Leo XIII and Pius X gave the Hibernians the Apostolic Benediction (papal blessing) and various bishops in both Australia and New Zealand gave the Hibernians their approval.[53]

Unlike the Orange Institution which was a society entrenched in secret passwords, ceremonies and private meetings, Hibernianism was a public society in the sense that they had ritualism and laws but these were not secret. Any secrecy was forbidden by the Catholic Church. The openness of the Hibernian meeting can be illustrated by the Triennial Moveable Meeting in 1910. Besides the usual delegates from the branches there were also members of 'Kindred Societies' such as the United Ancient Order of Druids, the Independent Order of Rechabites, and the Ancient Order of Foresters. These delegates also had a chance to comment on the Hibernian proceedings. A Brother Grant of the Druids, in

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[51]Ibid., p. 65.

[52]New Zealand Tablet, 9 March 1899.

[53]John Toohey, 'The Hibernian-Australasian Catholic Benefit Society (Executive Directory), in Proceedings of the Second Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, p. 365.

replying to a toast to the 'Kindred Societies' said that "the society which he represented had 9136 members. He noticed it had been stated that the Hibernians had 2706 financial members. He ventured to say that more than half that were Catholics."[54] This openness at the meetings was a chance to convey to the wider New Zealand society that the Hibernians were not antagonistic to the other non-Catholic benefit societies.

The general aim of the Hibernian Society was to raise money through the voluntary subscriptions of members. This money would then provide for members and their families for funeral expenses, medical assistance, and support in sickness and old age. These aims were similar to other Friendly Societies but the Hibernians differed because of their Catholic character and because of the Society's aim to

> "cherish the memory of Ireland", rejoicing in the prosperity and condoling in the sufferings of their native land, and to bind them yet closer in social chains of fraternity and friendship in the Austral land. Also to endeavour to instil into the minds of the Celtic-Australasian race a veneration for the land of their forefathers, in order that they may imitate, if not excel, the faith and virtues of that devoted nation, and to extend the hand of fellowship to their co-religionists of every nationality, participating with them in a brotherly spirit in every benefit, social and pecuniary, that the Society affords.[55]

Cherishing the memory of Ireland was very apparent by the symbolism employed on the paraphernalia of the Hibernians. The central symbol was the Irish Celtic cross which symbolized the redemption of mankind. The other symbols, namely the Harp of Erin, the shamrocks, the sunburst, oak tree, wolf hound and round tower were all reminders of Irish history. The Hibernians state that they "are emblematic of Celtic associations, and remind us of our great indebtedness to Ireland and to those Irish pioneers whose foresight and zeal made the foundation of our Society possible."[56] There was also the Australian coat of arms which showed the origin of the New Zealand Hibernians, and the motto beneath the cross which read "Faith, Hope and Charity" expressed the Christian virtues that the Hibernians wanted to uphold. At the bottom of the emblem was a globe which was representative of the world-wide Catholic Church to which the Hibernians belonged.[57] All of these symbols

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[54]New Zealand Tablet, 7 April 1910.

[55]Op. cit., General Rules for the H.A.C.B.S, p. 5.

[56]H.A.C.B.S. Ritual Book For the Use of Male, Ladies, and Mixed Branches, Melbourne, National Directory, 1963, p. 6.

[57]Greymouth Evening Star, 17 May, 1969.

reinforced the importance of the Irishness and Catholicism in the ritual of their processions and ceremonies.

The Hibernians were automatically drawn into the political arena due to their Irish origins. The Orange Institution clearly had a political agenda although this was not its primary purpose. The Hibernians in Ireland were seen not only as a friendly society but also as a defender of Irish Catholic interests and in this context it was certainly semi-political.[58] The Hibernians in New Zealand however, were primarily a Catholic benefit society and their political involvement was a peripheral interest as they did not have any sustained political intentions. If political discussion was prohibited from their meetings then there was no opportunity to formulate any political policies. Each of the branches had their own half-yearly meetings but the Triennial Moveable Meeting of the New Zealand District of the Hibernians was instituted for the general business of the Hibernians in New Zealand. It was here that motions were passed that affected the entire society as well as the motions concerning matters of Home Rule. Generally these were more in the form of support for the Irish Parliamentary Party and their push for Home Rule in Ireland.

The Hibernians in New Zealand made their intentions clear in their rules by stating that "Inasmuch as the success of the Society would be retarded, if not rendered absolutely impossible, by the discussion of subjects of an irritating or extraneous character, no political question of a local or Colonial nature shall be either introduced or discussed at any meetings of the Society."[59] Davis notes that although the Hibernians "eschewed 'involvement' in New Zealand politics" they still passed resolutions on Irish affairs, gave financial aid to Irish nationalist movements and were concerned about Catholic education. Davis saw these actions as "hardly political".[60] To support this argument Davis states that the resolutions varied from congratulating Irish politicians to denouncing the Easter Rising of 1916. He also cites examples of contributions to Irish nationalist organizations such as the Irish National Federation, Irish Parliamentary Party and various Irish nationalist

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[58]D. George Boyce, Nationalism in Ireland, London & Canberra, Dublin, Croom Helm, Gill & Macmillan, 1982, p. 275.

[59]Op. cit., General Rules for the H.A.C.B.S., p. 79.

[60]Op. cit., Davis, Irish Issues, p. 63.

delegations that toured New Zealand for that purpose.[61] The non-political stance of the Hibernians was overlooked by the Wellington Hibernians who were considering building a hall jointly with the Irish National League in 1884.[62]

The involvement of the Hibernians in Irish nationalist affairs may have been because the Hibernians were one of the few nationalist organizations that remained into the twentieth century. Davis saw the Hibernians as the only source for political resolutions and contributions when the other organizations were not in existence.[63] Neil Vaney challenged Davis' view by claiming that the Hibernians were

> "political" only in the mild sense of the word, ie. to the extent that the bishops wanted them to be. Each branch had its own chaplain, and there grew up a tradition of strong Church affiliation. In this way they were able to act as an organized body of lay Catholics, loyal to the bishop's directives. A powerful pressure lobby within the State or even the Catholic Church, the Hibernians certainly were not.[64]

The idea that the Hibernian society was politically involved only to the extent that the bishops wanted them to be suggests that this was another area of social control by the Catholic hierarchy.

The Irish nature of the Hibernians was also highlighted by their celebrations of St Patrick's Day when the members "celebrated in the most suitable manner practicable." This could be in the form of a concert, a procession or sports day. The attendance at these events was voluntary.[65] The regalia worn at these events was indicative of the Hibernian's heritage. The colours were emerald green and yellow with the motto of the society on the sash or collaret. The conduct of members on these occasions was closely regulated:

> Any member charged with being guilty of any disgraceful conduct- such as continual drunkenness, following any evil or wicked practice to obtain a living, slandering his fellow-Members in or outside the Branch meetings, or any other conduct calculated to bring the Society or any of its Members into disrepute, shall be tried before the Judicial Committee of his Branch, or suffer such a fine, not exceeding £10, as the Committee may see fit.[66]

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[61] Ibid., pp. 66-67. See Davis' Chapter 5 for details of Irish nationalists who visited New Zealand.

[62] Ibid., p. 67.

[63] Ibid., p. 67.

[64] Neil Vaney, 'The Dual Tradition, Irish Catholics and French Priests in New Zealand: The west Coast Experience, 1865-1910', University of Canterbury, M.A. Thesis (History), 1977, pp. 69-70.

[65] Op. cit., General Rules for the H.A.C.B.S, p. 79.

[66] Ibid., p. 73.

The Catholic Church interfered in social events organized by the H.A.C.B.S. In 1883, the Hibernian branch in Onehunga organized a dance for their members. Bishop J.E. Luck, of Auckland, was invited to attend but he wrote back saying

> you wish me to approve of the practice of dancing at your future gathering. You form not only a Benefit Society, but your special feature (and it ought to be your pride and [joy?]) is that you form a Catholic Benefit Society and as such aspire [to be] a model society based on the principles of Catholic teaching and practice. Now public dancing...is a practice that is against the spirit of the Church- and therefore I cannot [give] it my approval, either your case, or in the case of any other branch of the Society.[67]

Strict discipline was enforced on unacceptable behaviour in the Hibernian society just as it was in the Orange Institution. The Irish had a reputation for drunkenness and the conduct of the Hibernians could be seen as a way to dispel this perception of Irish Catholics.

Despite the desire of the Catholic Church to have an exclusively Catholic benefit society under its control, many Catholics joined non-Catholic benefit societies. This was a problem that plagued the Hibernians from their beginnings in New Zealand. At an annual meeting of the Otago-Canterbury District in 1881 the reason offered for why Catholics were not joining the Hibernians was that Catholics were ignorant of the benefits they would receive. This meeting decided to try and remedy this problem by writing to the clergy to urge people to join. They also sent Hibernian delegates to areas where there were not any Hibernians already established, to explain their rules and benefits.[68]

By 1899 there were still editorials in the New Zealand Tablet decrying the fact that despite encouraging words from the prelates of the Catholic Church the Hibernians remained numerically small. The men's branches were only a few thousand strong and the female branches were "barely alive". The editorial tried to portray the benefits of joining the Hibernians.

> In its full development it is a powerful means of social intercourse among Catholics. As such it is calculated to prevent many of the evils that are inseparable from a country in which the social atmosphere is decidedly non-Catholic, even when it is not anti-Catholic, or non-religious, or irreligious. The dangers are, for Catholics, the contracting of mixed marriages, and the slow absorption of modes of thought and principles of action that tend to a weakening of faith and a cooling of religious fervour. Besides its value as a social lever, much has been effected in the way of good example by the spectacle of the serried ranks of the brethren attending Holy Communion

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[67]S.C. Macpherson, 'A 'Ready Made Nucleus of Degradation and Disorder'? A religious and social history of the Catholic Church and Community in Auckland 1870-1910' University of Auckland, M.A., 1987, p. 107.

[68]New Zealand Tablet, 28 January 1881.

> in regalia, and accustoming the Catholic laity to take an active and energetic part in movements for Church and school expansion.[69]

This editorial expresses that the Hibernians lacked members because there were two portions of the Catholic public- one that was indifferent to any benefit society and the other that belonged to other benefit societies.[70] The chance for 'mixed marriages' must have been higher if Catholics joined a non-Catholic benefit society as they would have joined with non-Catholics at social functions. The Hibernians and the Catholic hierarchy emphasized the 'Catholic' nature of the society and its financial and spiritual rewards through membership.

A running advertisement for the Hibernians in the New Zealand Tablet implored that the "Catholic Community is earnestly requested to support this excellent Organization for it inculcates a love of Holy Faith and Patriotism in addition to the unsurpassed benefits and privileges of membership."[71] Despite these constant requests for membership the numerical strength of the Hibernians was never spectacular.

There were 899 members in 1873, 2,500 in 1909 and 3,096 in 1913.[72] Davis argues that the reason for the unspectacular growth was that the Hibernians were caught between two positions.

> On the one hand, timid Catholics were unwilling to become identified with an Irish nationalist organization might require them to parade, especially in hostile areas like Christchurch, wearing provocative insignia, on the other, the more ardent patriots might well feel that the Hibernians were too moderate. This contention is borne out by the fact that the 1880s, a period of Irish nationalist ferment, were marked only by slow Hibernian progress. On the West Coast support for Home Rule was passionate but for Hibernianism merely tepid.[73]

It is hard to imagine that there were so many timid Catholic males in areas such as Christchurch who did not have a history of parading on St Patrick's Day, as the Hibernians usually marched on religious feast days or at civic parades. On these occasions they did not

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[69] Ibid., 9 March 1899.

[70] Ibid., 9 March 1899.

[71] Ibid. This appeared in many early issues.

[72] Op. cit., Davis, Irish Issues, p. 68.

[73] Ibid., p. 68.

march alone, (they marched with Catholic schoolchildren or in church processions), unlike the Orangemen who did march by themselves.

The real reason for lack of membership may have been that the other friendly societies offered more attractive benefits which would suggest that the desire for financial security outweighed any loyalty to one's denomination. Greater membership would have given the Hibernian society a stronger economic base from which to offer better benefits. Failure to increase their membership decreased their capacity to attract Catholics away from other benefit societies. Many Catholics may have felt that they had their spiritual and social needs met by going to mass or joining sodalities which had a single purpose.[74] The Hibernians, by trying to be all things to all Catholics, could have overlooked the purpose of a friendly society which was just to provide the best benefits possible.

[74]The Hibernian's focus on Irishness would not have been a drawcard for the membership of Anglo or French Catholics.

Chapter 4.

PARADES: A NEW ZEALAND-IRISH EXPERIENCE

The Loyal Orange Institution and the Hibernian Society, along with other various ethnic, political, religious or social groups, have celebrated or enacted past events in public places by parades. These affirm the beliefs of the participants and usually commemorate past events or people of significance. They may be thought of as rituals, that is a "rule-governed activity of a symbolic character that draws the attention of its participants to objects of thought and feeling that they hold to be of special significance."[1]

A parade needs to include both a sense of order by the marchers and the route to be taken during the parade. Its 'symbolic character' encompasses such things as banners, regalia, emblems and colours. Special significance is provided by past events or persons. Two additional factors which can be overlooked when assessing a ritual parade are firstly the impact on the community and secondly the use of music, which could culminate in a banquet or concert. The use of these components will be used to analyze the parades and celebrations of Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants in New Zealand as they marked their days of 'special significance'.

Any discussion on the impact of Irish parades in New Zealand also has to be seen in the context of the sectarian conflict that occurred in Ireland.[2] The parade and its celebrations when transferred to the New Zealand scene, brought with it some of the same beliefs and actions that were formed in the Irish situation. The passions were not necessarily as heightened as when the parades occurred in Ireland, as any transfer of cultural beliefs is always conditioned by the situation in another country.

At the core of any parade is the attempt to communicate through the associated symbols the beliefs of the participants both as a statement about themselves and to influence those who observe the parade. A hierarchical organization such as the Orange Institution used ritual to communicate power relationships and claims of religious and political

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[1]Steven Lukes, 'Political Ritual and Social Integration' Sociology, vol. 9. no.2, May 1975, p. 291.

[2]See Chapter 2 for the Irish context.

importance.[3] The ritual parade expressed these ideas through stylized and ordered marches through the streets of cities or towns. The key to this communication is in its symbolism. The association of orange sashes and banners with William III declared through a non-verbal and dramatic way to the wider community that these marchers were 'Orangemen' celebrating William III's triumphs. If a bystander did not know who William III was, he/she would still recognize the use of symbols such as the crown or the Bible. There is a powerful communication of any message that is dramatized by a ritual parade. Long after the parade has finished and is only a distant memory a person might remember the 'sight' of a parade rather than any speeches that would have occurred at a rally.

The Hibernians used contrasting images and communicated a different message to that of the Orange Institution when they were involved in St Patrick's Day parades. They involved the whole Catholic community in their parades, which gave the signal that the Hibernians were an integral part of the Catholic community. These parades by the Hibernians and other Catholic groups communicated to the wider community what it meant to be Irish and also that they had their place in society . This idea was highlighted in an editorial in the New Zealand Tablet concerning St Patrick's Day Celebrations-

> The two most marked features in the character of an Irishman are love for his religion and love for his native land. Even the bitterest enemies of the Irish people admit their patriotism, and centuries of cruel persecution have failed to shake or weaken their fidelity to their Holy Faith. It is probably because the anniversary of Ireland's patron saint affords ample scope for the exercise of both these feelings - the religious and the patriotic - that the celebration of St Patrick's Day has taken such a deep hold everywhere on the hearts of the Irish people.[4]

In this editorial comment the 'Irish' are both Roman Catholic and nationalistic. This ignores the Irish Protestant community which was not seen as being 'Irish'. For New Zealand readers Catholic equalled Irish at this time. Yet this editorial went further and offered the equation of Irish = Catholic. Linking Irish Catholicism to St Patrick's Day was a good opportunity to solidify these claims. Thus, St Patrick's Day was a celebration of Irish Catholicism.

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[3]David I. Kertzer, Ritual, Politics and Power, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1988, p. 29.

[4]New Zealand Tablet, 19 March 1897.

The celebrations undertaken by the Orange Lodges and the Hibernians were centred on specific days that highlighted the distinctive qualities of these institutions. In the Orange celebratory calendar two dates were the most important. The first was the Twelfth of July, which commemorated the victory of William III, Prince of Orange over the Catholic forces under James II in 1690. The other regular occasion was the fifth of November, which was a dual celebration of the Gunpowder Plot and the landing of William III at Torbay, England. The Orange Lodges celebrated Protestant victories over Catholics which emphasized the 'Protestant' nature of their celebrations. The Orange regulations stipulated that these events be celebrated annually either on that date "or the Sunday nearest to that day, by attending Divine worship, or otherwise meeting together in grateful observance of that anniversary."[5] The manner of celebration varied from year to year. Sometimes the celebrations took the form of banquets only, and at other times these were combined with a parade.

In similar fashion, the Hibernian celebrations in New Zealand also centred on a specific date, 17 March, St Patrick's Day. The Hibernian celebration of this day meant a two-fold emphasis on their Irish heritage and their Catholic religion. This was exemplified by St Patrick who was seen as the Roman Catholic Apostle to the Irish people. Unlike their Orange counterparts, whose parades were compulsory, the Hibernian's rules simply stated that the anniversary "of St Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, shall be celebrated in the most suitable manner practicable...Attendance shall be voluntary."[6] This open-ended rule meant that various Hibernian branches developed their own way of celebrating St Patrick's Day, which included concerts and sports days. Dunedin had annual concerts of Irish music and poetry while Auckland had sports days. The voluntary nature of the Hibernian contribution to these festivities is worth noting in contrast to the Orange Lodges in the

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[5]Laws and Ordinances of the Loyal Orange Institution of New Zealand, passed by the Grand Lodge of New Zealand, July 1883, John Brame, 1883.

[6]General Rules for the government of the New Zealand District of the Hibernian-Australasian Catholic Benefit Society, Auckland, Scott Printing Co., 1904.

North Island which developed their rules on anniversaries to include the threat of suspension if any member did not attend the celebrations without a reasonable excuse.[7]

The Hibernians and Orangemen who celebrated their respective anniversaries had an important visual component integrated into their celebrations. Each Orange lodge had their own banners complete with their name and a picture (usually of King William III on horseback). The music played was usually Irish airs played by a fife and drum band hired for the occasion as they did not always have their own. The lodge members all wore their respective regalia of Orange sashes and emblems, which showed their degree and office. The Royal Black Preceptories wore black regalia indicative of their name. The banners already referred to must have been very striking since one report of an Orange parade noted, "The various banners of the lodges, particularly that of No. 13, attracted much attention, being exceedingly handsome."[8] The grandeur of such parades seemed to have appealed to some colonists as such a colourful spectacle could hardly go unnoticed in a frontier society such as New Zealand.

The Orangemen in Christchurch, as noted in Table 5, had a consistent tradition of celebrating The Battle of the Boyne on 12 July.

Table 5: Attendance at Orange Parades/Soirees in Christchurch on 12 July, 1880-1910.

Year	Parade	Soiree
1880	650	200
1885	300	400
1890	300	700
1895	*	200
1900	250	*
1910	200	*

* Figures were not available.
Sources: Lyttleton Times, Press, and New Zealand Herald.

In Christchurch on Sunday 12 July 1891, approximately two hundred and eighty marchers assembled at their Orange Hall in Worcester Street. These marchers were marshalled in the

[7]Constitution and Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of New Zealand, North Island, Auckland, Star Office, 1906.

[8]Press, 13 July 1880. No. 13 refers to the Loyal Orange Lodge in Timaru.

following order; Addington Band, District Master of No. 4, with standard bearers, then followed all of the lodges according to their respective numbers, preceding the District Grand Master, four Past Grand Masters, Chaplain of the Royal Black Preceptory, sword bearers and finally the Sir Knights No. 438 Encampment of the Royal Black Chapter of Ireland in their various degrees up to Red Cross. In this very regimented procession the marchers moved from their hall along Manchester, Armagh, Colombo and Cashel streets to St Paul's Presbyterian Church. The Marchers attracted the attention of locals who lined the main streets as spectators. Once the parade reached the church they halted to salute the Lady President and Sisters of No. 1 No Surrender Lodge who did not take part in the parade.

When the service finished they went back to their hall and gave a vote of thanks to the preacher and his sermon that consisted of "urging his hearers to be loyal to Jesus Christ and to the Queen, and to take advantage of the religious liberty won for them by their fathers." The whole proceedings concluded with the National Anthem, which again stressed the Orange Lodge's loyalty to the Crown as did the sermon and once the singing finished everyone dispersed.[9] This parade is but one of many Orange parades that were reported around New Zealand.[10] Only the lodge names and geographical locations tended to change in the format of these parades.

This description of the Orange parade only offers a narrative of what happened but does not explain the symbolic meaning of the regalia, banners and emblems that the participants wore or used. The central symbol of the Orange Institution apart from William III on a white charger, was the orange sash, with a picture of a crown, representative of the British monarchy, a picture of William III and of orange lilies.[11] The colour orange was predominant in the parade. Each participant had an orange sash draped across his dark suit. This colour was associated with William III who belonged to the Dutch House of

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[9]Lyttelton Times, 13 July 1891, Press, 13 July 1891.

[10]Auckland and Wellington were the other major centres notable for their Orange parades.

[11]See M.W Dewar, John Brown and S.E. Long, Orangeism: A New Historical Appreciation, Belfast, Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, 1969, p. 43. They note that William III is depicted on Orange banners as riding a white horse. The Protestants who supported William transferred their loyalty to the House of Hanover and its emblem was a white horse. This emblem became the badge of Protestant Succession.

Orange-Nassau. Orange was a principality in Provençe, France but was passed to the House of Nassau in the 16th century. The association of the colour with William III points in a symbolic way to his maintenance of Protestantism both in Britain and Ireland. The colour orange and its associated symbolism were a source of pride to the Orange Institution but the reverse was true for Catholics especially Irish Catholics as Orangeism was established in Ireland.

Displays of orange emblems and colours were, states Reverend Henry Cleary, later Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland, "regarded as a studied insult by the Roman Catholics, and as a triumph by the Orangemen, and a declaration of their superiority over their Roman Catholic brethren."[12] While the symbolic nature of the colour orange had a special meaning for the Orange Institution, it was viewed in quite a different manner by their Catholic counterparts. The symbolic use of the colour orange when used in a parade had different connotations, depending on who was watching. An Orange sympathizer would realize that 'orange' stood for civil and religious liberty while a Catholic may believe that it stood for oppression and bigotry. Alternatively another spectator may simply associate the colour orange with the marchers and may not understand its underlying meanings.

A story that has been used in various forms aptly illustrates this last point. An Englishman was in Belfast on 12 July and while watching the Orange parade was curious to know what it all meant. He asked another spectator- "Excuse me could you tell me what's going on?" The other man simply replied "It's the Twelfth." The Englishman persisted and said, "I'm afraid you must think me very stupid, but I'm afraid I still don't understand." The spectator answered "It's the Twelfth of July." The Englishman replied "Oh, I know that's the date alright, but what's all this about?" With disgust the man said "Ach, away home and read your Bible, man."[13]

According to David Kertzer "ritual helps give meaning to our world in part by linking the past to the present and the present to the future."[14] In the example of the

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[12]H. W. Cleary, The Orange Society, Melbourne, Bernard King and Sons, 1897, ninth edition, p. 216.

[13]Tony Gray, The Orange Order, London, Sydney, Toronto, The Bodley Head, 1972, pp. 14-15.

[14]Op. cit., Kertzer, pp. 9-10.

Orange parade this linking of the past with the future helps to explain the continued use of banners and sashes. As already mentioned the sash was an important component in this ritual and the song "The Sash My Father Wore" highlights this:

> It is old but it is beautiful, and its colours they are fine;
> It was worn at Derry, Aughrim, Enniskillen and the Boyne:
> My father wore it when a youth in the by-gone days of yore:
> So on the 12th I always wear the Sash my father wore.[15]

Undoubtedly there was tremendous pride in wearing the sash because of its link with the past victories of William III over James II. Indeed these victories go even deeper than mere military events in a bygone era. A recent example of the meaning of marching on the Twelfth of July gives some added insight- "Orangemen that day not only commemorate a very significant military and political victory, but a great deliverance from Roman slavery, in much the same way as the Jews each year commemorate their deliverance from bondage in Egypt."[16] This celebration of past triumphs and its meaning holds true for past Orange parades. An important aspect is the 'Roman slavery', which is referring to the Roman Catholic Church whom the Orange Institution saw as the oppressors of Protestants. These marchers saw a link with the past to the present through the annual celebrations.

Auckland, had a strong tradition of marching on St Patrick's Day as shown in Table 6. It was celebrated by the whole Catholic community, which had an annual parade and sports day under the auspices of the Hibernian Australasian Catholic Benefit Society.

Table 6: Attendance at St Patrick's Day Parades in Auckland, 1880-1910.

Year	Catholic School Children	Hibernians
1880	2000	150
1885	1200	160
1890	1577	60
1895	*	80
1900	*	*
1905	2000	70
1910	3500	*

* Figures were not available.
Source: New Zealand Herald.

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[15]Billy Kennedy, (ed.), A Celebration: 1690-1990- The Orange Institution, Belfast, Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, 1990, p. 55.

[16]Richard Rose, Governing without Consensus: An Irish Perspective, London, Faber and Faber Ltd, 1971, p.258. Quoted from a letter to the Belfast Telegraph in Northern Ireland, 1969.

In Auckland on St Patrick's Day, 1883, approximately 2,500 school children marched in procession. There were three bands that accompanied them playing in turns along the route. A newspaper reported-

> The procession was very imposing as it passed along the streets with banners flying, music playing, the light coloured and seasonable dresses, the green sashes, and the almost interminable line of young people in holiday attire. The girls in white dresses, white hoods, and green sashes were conspicuous for their neatness and uniformity of dress.[17]

The Orange parade had the colour orange as an integral component of their march and the Hibernians had the colour green, which has been argued as being the 'national' colour of Ireland. This identification with Ireland was deliberate by the Hibernians who clung to an Irish Catholic heritage. This was best illustrated by the regalia worn by the Hibernians who had green sashes with gold trim and tassels. The most prominent emblem was the Celtic cross that was seen as a symbol of Irish Catholic Christianity. On these sashes the various officers in the Hibernians had symbols that represented their office such as crossed keys, a symbol of the papacy, representing the treasurer. There were no other emblems or degrees apart from the already mentioned functional officers such as president, secretary and treasurer, because the Hibernians were not a 'secret' society with different levels or degrees. The banners noted in the newspaper reports probably displayed the stylized picture of St Patrick complete with mitre and bishop robes. This distinctive emblem of the Hibernians symbolised their links with Ireland and the Catholic Church. This symbol was known more to them than anyone else but the Celtic cross would have transmitted a clear message to those watching.

The informal and festive nature of St Patrick's Day parades contrasted with the very formal and even ritualistic nature of Orange parades. Although both groups had other activities apart from the parade to partake in such as banquets, concerts or sports days where the members could socialize, it was the parades that made an impact with their message. The Orange Lodges marched for a variety of reasons already mentioned but primarily it was to celebrate the Protestant Ascendancy while the Hibernians marched to celebrate their

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[17] New Zealand Herald, 19 March 1883.

Irish Catholic heritage. The Hibernians did not have the same impact as their Orange counterparts. This was because by integrating their march with the rest of the Catholic community the Hibernians were seen as just another Catholic group while the Orange Lodges marched as one unit and not in conjunction with other groups when they celebrated their anniversaries.

Christchurch and Dunedin tended to have banquets or concerts to celebrate St Patrick's Day, which meant that public parades were non-existent. This could have been due to a certain hostility by the local population against Irish parades or it may have been a deliberate policy by the local Catholic bishops in these centres to avoid confrontation. The reverse was true in Auckland whereby the Hibernians combined their celebrations with other Catholic societies and schools. This meant that the Hibernians were able to march but were also able to avoid confrontation because they were part of a unified Catholic community.

The role music in the parades is important because of its appeal to the bystander's sense of hearing. The singing and playing of 'party tunes' that were traditional in orange parades in Ireland included such titles as "The Protestant Boys", "Croppies Lie Down", "The Boyne Water" and many more which dealt with different aspects of Irish history from an Orange perspective. These 'party tunes' were generally seen as being inflammatory by Irish Catholics. The "Lillibulero" exemplifies the type of content in a 'party tune'.

> Now, now, the heretics all go down; lilliburlero, bullen a la,
> By the Pope and St Patrick! de nations our own, lilliburlero, bullen a la,
>
> Der was an ould prophecy found in a bog, lilliburlero, bullen a la,
> Dat "Ireland should be ruled by an ass and a hog," lilliburlero, bullen a la,
>
> And now dis prophecy is come to pass, lilliburlero, bullen a la,
> For Talbot's de hog and James is de ass, lilliburlero, bullen a la.[18]

The tune "Lilliburlero" was whistled by Irish Protestants in 1686 when James II appointed General Talbot as a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. The words 'lilliburlero' and 'bullen a la' were passwords for the Irish Protestants during their struggle.[19] 'Party tunes'

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[18]Joseph Carnahan, Life and Times of William the Third and History of Orangeism, Auckland, Star Office, H. Brett, 1890, p. 309.

[19]Op. cit. Gray, p. 40.

such as these were part of the antagonism between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants. There did not seem to be such overt antagonisms in New Zealand as Orange parades generally involved bands playing without lyrics. A common newspaper report on an Orange parade would read- "the Newton Band, under Bandmaster West, marched at the head of the procession, playing appropriate airs."[20] These "appropriate airs" would be Irish airs that would probably be more known to the marchers than to the spectators. Still, this did not mean that such songs were never sung as the soiree of banquet gave ample opportunity for 'party tunes'. This feature of fife and drum music in the march meant that spectators would be drawn to the sounds of the band even if they could not see the marchers. To be a success, any parade had to rely on sight and sound so that bystanders would be drawn in to the parade.

An integral part of any parade was the route followed by the marching participants. The parades involved marching through a specified route on a regular basis. In a sense these marches may symbolize the reclaiming of public space. William S. Sax has raised this issue of when a particular group

> establishes its physical unity within a specific territory by circumambulating or traversing it. Now the people who live in that territory may not always affirm the unity that is asserted by the ritual movement; in fact, they may actively oppose it, as in the case of a military procession through each other's neighbourhoods that are so popular among Hindus and Muslims in India.[21]

The physical presence of a group of marchers who are unified can be declared to the local community in a visible way through a ritual parade. In the case of an Orange parade this meant that Catholics would be forced to recognize the symbolic claims of Orangeism without necessarily agreeing with them.

These 'symbolic victories' through ritual parades have in two notable instances led to conflict in New Zealand. Sean Brosnahan has ably reconstructed the events surrounding the first public march of Orangemen in Canterbury, which resulted in riots in Timaru and Christchurch in 1879. In Timaru, 40 Orangemen joined with the Foresters and Oddfellows to march in an annual procession for benefit societies. A group of 150 Hibernians

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[20]New Zealand Herald, 13 July 1891.

[21]William S. Sax, Mountain Goddess: Gender and Politics in a Himalayan Pilgrimage, New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 202.

gathered around the marchers and refused to let the Orangemen march wearing their 'colours'. The police tried to calm the Hibernians down but another 100-150 Hibernians arrived from Waimate as reinforcements. They broke through the police barricade and attacked the Orangemen. "For a few minutes there was a confused melee but no blows were struck and only one Orange scarf was torn off."[22]

The Christchurch conflict was "more violent than that in Timaru." Ninety-eight Orangemen and Protestant Alliance members marched in full regalia, with banners and music playing, past the Borough Hotel. "As soon as the band had gone past the hotel some thirty men, armed with pick handles, surged out of the yard behind the hotel and launched a violent attack on the Orangemen."[23] Five men were injured but no people were killed. The Orangemen returned to the hotel in the evening and were joined by a crowd of 3000-4000 people. Stones were thrown at the hotel but the crowd was finally dispersed by the police.

Brosnahan makes a useful observation that "the attacks were quite autonomous reactions to the processions and were markedly different in all but the common antagonism to the symbols of Orangeism."[24] The key point here is the identification of the "symbols of Orangeism" that were seen as offensive to the Irish Catholics involved in the riots. In the case of the riot in Christchurch the Orange parade went past an 'Irish' hotel, which may have been seen by the Irish labourers lodging there as an invasion of their 'space' by their 'enemies'. Whether or not the parade route was a deliberate and provocative act cannot be known but nevertheless it did result in a riot.

The parades by the Hibernians did not have the same responses as those by the Orange Institution. This could be partly explained by the combining of schoolchildren in the parade, which would modify the attitude of bystanders who could otherwise take offence at Irish nationalist sentiments exhibited by the Hibernians. Similar to the Orangemen, the Hibernians traversed through the main streets. Here again the decision to

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[22]Sean Brosnahan, "The Battle of the Borough and the Saige O Timaru: Sectarian Riot in Colonial Canterbury", (forthcoming in the New Zealand Journal of History). The term 'Hibernian' used by Brosnahan does not mean that this behaviour was condoned by the H.A.C.B.S.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Ibid.

march through main streets, besides the practical aspect of reaching a specific destination, also had the added effect of highlighting the Irish Catholic community's right to use public space. In this sense the local community and the Orange Institution were forced to recognize their existence even though recognition did not mean acceptance. Movement in a public space by both Irish Catholics and Irish Protestant groups signified their existence as separate groups in the community which had their own beliefs and culture.

The parades of the predominantly Irish Catholic and Irish Protestant institutions promoted the solidarity of the participants but not the community, or simply "solidarity without consensus."[25] Unlike the example of an American parade that involved the local community in which the costs of the parade were met by the local authority, parades by Orangemen or collective marches by Irish Catholics were exclusive events.[26] Steven Lukes commented on the effects of an Orange parade in Northern Ireland- "In this case, collective effervescences serve not to unite the community but to strengthen the dominant groups within it. Ritual here exacerbates social conflict and works against (some aspects of) social integration."[27] A similar conclusion could be drawn from the New Zealand experience where these groups of Irish were continuing to hold on to their traditions in the face of a 'British' culture that in theory saw no distinction between Irish and English. Generally 'British' really meant English, which saw British culture as superior whilst the Irish culture and tradition were derided, (as depicted in the Victorian cartoons in the nineteenth century, which showed the Irish as being ape-like in appearance).[28]

The Irish Catholics were seen as being on the outer of society and so their integration into the general community was not always successful. Although on the surface the very content of the parades by Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants had an air of

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[25]Op. cit., Kertzer, p. 67.

[26]For an analysis of the nature and meaning of American parades see Mary Ryan, 'The American Parade: Representatives of the Nineteenth-Century Social Order', in Lynn Hunt (ed.), The New Cultural History, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1989. Also, Susan G. Davis, Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1986.

[27]Op. cit. Lukes, p. 300.

[28]See L. Perry Curtis Jr., Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature, Washington, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971.

exclusion this did not preclude other interested parties in the wider total community from taking part in the festivities. The subsequent banquets, concerts and sometimes dances gave an opportunity for other members of the local community to join in the festivities. These opportunities for the public to take part in a banquet or concert obviously had their limitations since a Catholic would generally not feel inclined to partake in an Orange soiree. There were exceptions such as the St Patrick's Day banquet in Christchurch in 1885 in which the correspondent stated- "if anyone were to ask me what was the feature of the evening, I should say it was the fact that Catholics and Orangemen sat down comfortably to dinner together on St Patrick's Day."[29]

Celebrations of the various anniversaries of these Irish groups in New Zealand as already seen did not always take the form of a parade. The Orange soiree and concert were an important component in the Orange celebrations especially in years when there were no parades. These forms of celebration gave ample opportunity for grandiose speeches, recitals and a celebration of music that generally had an Irish flavour. The Orange soiree gave opportunities for speakers to air topics that ranged across the religious and political spectrum. An array of subject headings included "The need of Orangeism Today", which stated that "Wherever Papacy existed, there also were Orangemen needed. Take Papacy out of New Zealand and then the Orange Order could disband. Orangeism is synonymous with protest, and so long as there is any need to protest, so long would he and others be Orangemen and the flag of liberty and truth."[30]

The parade and the speeches afterwards all expressed a protest by the Orange Institution against Roman Catholicism and affirmed the upholding of Protestantism. These speeches were a part of the 'symbolic power' that the Orange Institution displayed on their anniversary celebrations. This 'symbolic power' existed in the speeches, which could only have legitimacy if the hearers believed in the words uttered. As the only ones who went to an Orange soiree were Orange members or sympathizers, the speeches were very

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[29]New Zealand Tablet, 3 April 1885. This may indicate some harmony among these two groups of Irish but this was hardly the norm, and why this occurred is difficult to establish since the local papers did not even refer to this point when reporting the banquet.

[30]New Zealand Methodist, 28 July 1888.

effective.[31] The Orange Institution, as a result of this symbolic power, was able to influence a certain portion of the population who shared their form of popular Protestantism with its inherent anti-Catholic rhetoric.

The concerts that the local Irish Catholic community attended had another component other than affirming their belief in Irish Catholicism. This was the social aspect that cannot be underestimated. It was a good opportunity to socialize as a cohesive unit and the Hibernians helped to play an integral role in this sense of community. One Christchurch concert in 1895 had a Hibernian Comedy and Dramatic Club on display. This indicates that the Hibernians had more diverse social interests than those outlined in their aims.[32] The social and cultural aspects involved in a St Patrick's Day concert all combined to provide an entertaining evening that helped to consolidate the Irish Catholic community.

The celebration of St Patrick's Day with a concert was probably the nearest comparison to the Orange soiree and concert. The use of a concert on St Patrick's Day had many advantages to the Irish Catholic community in that it promoted 'Irish culture' and it was also non-confrontational, as opposed to the parades. Dunedin is an example of a New Zealand city that had a long history of celebrating St Patrick's Day with a concert. The concerts generally consisted of poetry, recitals and songs that had an Irish influence. A development that added to this Irish influence was the Gaelic Revival of the nineteenth century which among its many complexities promoted the revival of the Irish language. An example of this influence occurred in Dunedin in 1895 when there were songs and recitals in Irish Gaelic. There was also a prize for an essay on the Irish language and literature. This occasion coincided with the establishment of an Irish Gaelic Society that held its meetings at the Tablet Office. This attempt to carry the revival of the Irish language to New

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[31]Pierre Bourdieu, Language and Symbolic Power, edited and introduced by John B. Thompson, translated by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1991, p. 170.

[32]Lyttleton Times, 16 March 1895.

Zealand could be seen as the local Irish Catholics' bid to help preserve their Irish identity in a 'British' colony.[33]

The development of celebrations by both Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants complete with their associated symbolism and meaning were an important aspect for these respective communities. To maintain their identities these celebrations helped to keep links with their country of origin- Ireland. The impact of these celebrations on the wider community was varied. The Orange Institution was tolerated but many newspapers expressed concern about Orange parades as in some cases these parades resulted in riots in Ireland. There was a desire to see that this did not occur in New Zealand.[34] In practice there was little evidence of the same kind of conflict being transported as physical conflict was rare during an Orange parade in New Zealand. The St Patrick's Day celebrations did not attract the same criticism as the Orange parades. This was probably due to there being very few parades around New Zealand and even then the Auckland parade combined Catholic school children and a sports day. The net result was a more non-confrontational approach that emphasized the enjoyment of St Patrick's Day as a festive occasion.

The Hibernian and Orange parades represented the Two Irelands- one Catholic and one Protestant. The parades strengthened these two identities. The Hibernians marched as a unified group and the symbols they adopted depicted their allegiance to the Catholic Church and to Ireland. The Orangemen used their parades to proclaim their collective identity as a 'brotherhood'. The ritual and symbolism they adopted reinforced their religious and political beliefs. The speeches and songs that were an integral part of their celebrations affirmed their anti-Catholic sentiment and signified to the Catholic community that Protestantism was the true form of Christian faith. The parades were also a means of remembrance and a chance to celebrate and relive past triumphs over the Catholics in Ireland.

The parades strengthened and affirmed the Catholic and Protestant identities as they focused on each exclusive community and highlighted their aims and beliefs. This

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[33]New Zealand Tablet, 15 February, 22 March 1895.

[34]Otago Daily Times, 15 July 1878.

increased sectarian tension between the two groups. The Hibernians, in their parades, confirmed their allegiance to Catholicism and showed their pride in the Irish Gaelic heritage by the use of distinct Irish emblems on their regalia. They also tried to revive the Gaelic language at their St Patrick's Day celebrations. Orangemen were more provocative than the Hibernians as they were overtly anti-Catholic in their parades. Their speeches and songs resounded of Protestant glory and papal denigration. Regardless of which Irish community the parades represented, they always reflected some aspect of Irish culture. This signified to the wider community that the Irish were a distinctive people with a distinctive heritage.

Chapter 5.

THE TOURING PREACHERS: CONFLICT AND CONTROVERSY

The anti-Catholicism as expressed in the Orange parades, was entrenched in Protestant thought by the continual ideological and physical struggles that had occurred since the Reformation. This anti-Catholic sentiment persisted into the nineteenth century despite significant advances by Catholics in abolishing most of the penal legislation against them and the landmark Catholic Emancipation in 1829. Despite these achievements there was the continual threat of popular mob violence directed towards Catholics and this gained momentum between 1840 and 1870. The amount of anti-Catholic literature increased in the 1850s and by the 1860s riots were occurring although these tended to be localized and not a part of any national movement.

This anti-Catholic sentiment had some reinforcement from the traditions that were ingrained into English society such as the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day on 5 November. Edward Norman offers an example of this:

> Blessed Dominic Barberi, arriving in England for the first time in 1841, was surprised at the intensity of the Protestant tone: in fact he had crossed the Channel on 5 November and witnessed the burning of the Pope in effigy in virtually every place he passed through...Children began their hatred early: it was the practice of Protestant schoolboys to stick pins through the eyes of Queen Mary in the illustrations in history books.[1]

These images convey a deep-seated tradition of anti-Catholicism that often began in childhood and was continually reinforced through to adulthood. This reinforcement was especially helped by the fact that the celebration of Guy Fawkes Day was an annual event that could be used as a focus for anti-Catholic sentiment.

The Protestant English felt under threat by the flood of Irish Catholic immigrants into England. This was a key to the resurgence of anti-Catholicism in the nineteenth century.[2] In 1841 there were 419,256 Irish born residents in Britain and by 1861 there were 806,000. The Irish Potato Famine was the main contributing factor to this migration

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[1]Edward Norman, The English Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984, pp. 16-20.

[2]John Wolffe, The Protestant Crusade in Great Britain 1829-1860, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1991, p. 16.

flow. The Irish were only 3.5% of the total population in 1861 but they tended to settle in large groups in the urban areas. There were three main clusters of Irish settlement- Lancashire, the west of Scotland and London. The Irish formed a quarter of the population of Liverpool.[3]

The flood of the Irish in the urban areas brought with it all the social problems of disease and violence. It was therefore important to the Protestant English to keep their traditions alive and to reinforce the stereotype of the 'lazy, drunkard, and heretical' Irish Catholic. The English public sought to give a reason for the Irish stereotype by explaining that the Irish national character had a fundamental weakness. M.A.G. O'Tuathaigh sums up this view

> A stereotype of the brutalized 'Paddy' was formed...intemperate, improvident, violent, totally innocent of any notions of hygiene, mendacious and undependable- not so much a lovable rogue as a menacing savage. The popular imagination had, in general, little time for reflection on the environmental factors which dictated the over-representation of the immigrant Irish on the poor-law and crime lists, and in the alcoholic gutters. Weakness of national character was an easily accepted explanation.[4]

The 'low Irish' who were the victims of prejudice were the immigrant working class Irish. The Irish professionals enjoyed success and were not hampered by their heritage. Notable nineteenth-century journalists such as Justin McCarthy and T.P. O'Connor ('Tay Pay') were Irish.[5]

These anti-Irish attitudes cannot be considered as just another form of anti-Catholicism as many English Catholics were uncomfortable with the increased Irish influence on English Catholicism. Two factors that were important were class and culture. The English Catholics historically drew their leadership from aristocratic and intellectual circles. As a result, they were embarrassed by some forms of Irish Catholic piety. They also frowned upon the highly political nature of Irish Catholicism that fused both religion and politics. The English Catholics viewed these as separate spheres.[6]

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[3]M.A.G. O'Tuathaigh, 'The Irish in Nineteenth-century Britain: Problems of Integration', in Roger Swift & Sheridan Gilley (eds), The Irish in the Victorian City, London, Croom Helm, 1985, pp. 14-15.

[4]Ibid., p. 22.

[5]Ibid., p. 23.

[6]Ibid., pp. 27-28.

The ideology of anti-Catholicism was also expressed in the other two major areas of Irish migration- America and Canada. It was expressed in these countries in nativist terms. John Higham described nativism "as intense opposition to an internal minority on the ground of its foreign (i.e., "un-American") connections."[7] It would be simplistic to view nativism and anti-Catholicism as synonymous, although anti-Catholicism contributed to the nativist tradition. Nativist movements upheld American nationalism and the rights of the individual. The Catholic Church was seen by the Protestant nativists as authoritarian and this meant that they viewed "American liberty and European popery as irreconcilable".[8] Higham links anti-Catholicism with nationalism and lists many anti-Catholic societies that were established in the 1880s, most notably the American Protective Association formed in 1887. Members took an oath to never vote for a Catholic or employ one if a Protestant was available. This was a reflection of a fear that the Catholic Church was gaining power in local politics and labour.[9]

Canada had a different anti-Catholic tradition than the United States. French Catholicism had dominated Canadian settlement but from 1830 onwards there was a change in the pattern of immigration. Canada moved from having a Catholic majority to the Protestants gaining ascendancy. There was little friction between the French Catholics and English Protestants until the Irish came to Canada. Thousands of new settlers transferred from Ulster. These Irish Protestants brought with them their centuries old warfare between Catholics and Protestants and the Loyal Orange Institution.[10]

The Protestant Protective Association (P.P.A.), a secret, oath-bound and anti-Catholic organization made its way via the United States into Canada in the 1890s. Once

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[7]John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925, New York, Atheum, p. 4.

[8]Ibid., p. 6.

[9]Ibid., p. 62.

[10]Welf H. Heick (ed.), History and Myth: Arthur Lower and the Making of Canadian Nationalism, University of British Columbia, 1975, pp. 82-86. For the development of Orangeism in Canada see Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, The Sash Canada Wore. A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1980.

again, nativism was prevalent and anti-Catholicism was a part of its ideology.[11] It is significant that the catalysts for establishing new P.P.A. branches were ex-nuns and ex-priests who travelled around Canada espousing their anti-Catholic rhetoric. A prominent ex-nun who influenced the growth of the P.P.A. was Margaret Lisle Shepherd who was described by a Canadian newspaper, the Catholic Register, as "the foundress of the P.P.A. in Canada."[12] Despite initial fears throughout Canada that a publicly anti-Catholic organization was achieving political success, by 1897 the P.P.A. was in demise.[13]

The Protestant's anti-Catholic sentiments originated from a series of contentions and questions surrounding Catholic belief and practice. G.F.A. Best in his influential article 'Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain' sets out the theoretical base for this anti-Catholic tradition which he incorporated under 'Popular Protestantism.' A major objection to 'Popery' was the issue of divided allegiance.

> Were their loyalties not shared between Monarch and Pope?- and would not their spiritual allegiance, in the event of any conflict of claims, have to be the superior? Protestants had no doubt that, for a conscientious and virtuous Papist, the spiritual indeed should be the superior allegiance; they admired such religious seriousness, while deploring its premises.[14]

This 'divided allegiance' belief was widely prevalent. Gladstone's case against the Decrees in the First Vatican Council was that the civil liberty of the English Catholics was compromised by this divided allegiance.[15] Best outlines further objections which were moral in character such as the issues of celibacy, convents and confessionals. These subjects, in the hands of imaginative writers and lecturers became crucial in the debate of Catholicism and were the "pornography of the Puritan."[16] The Protestant's fascination with the alleged immoral

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[11]James T. Watt, 'Anti-Catholic Nativism in Canada: The Protestant Protective Association', Canadian Historical Review, vol. 48, no. 1, March 1967, p. 45.

[12]Ibid., p. 51.

[13]Ibid., p. 57. The P.P.A. in Canada did not survive because the "political atmosphere in Canada changed in the period following 1896 as a result of the relative absence of divisive religious controversies and the consequent dwindling of the harsh strains of anti-Catholic nativism."

[14]G.F.A. Best, 'Popular Protestantism in Victorian Britain,' in Robert Benson (ed.), Ideas and Institutions of Victorian Britain, London, G. Bell & Sons Ltd, 1967, p. 122.

[15]Op. cit., Norman, p. 17

[16]R. Hofstadter, The Paranoid Style in American Politics and Other Essays, New York, Vintage Books, 1967, p. 21.

activities taking place in convents and confessionals contributed to the boom industry of books and pamphlets and lecturers who gave detailed descriptions of what the Catholic nuns and priests were said to be doing behind the stone walled convents.

Anti-Catholicism was to those Protestants who adhered to it, an anti-religion in the sense that it was a negative image of true Christianity. This view led to the proposition that "every negative characteristic imputed to Rome implied a positive cultural, political or religious value which Protestants claimed as their own exclusive property."[17] By using this inversion technique much can be gleaned as to how the Protestants viewed themselves. Paramount to this view was the question of authority where Protestants saw the Pope usurping Christ's role as the Head of the Church. Once this 'human' authority was in place then 'human' forms of worship and belief took over, such as invocation of saints, worship of statues and images and veneration of the Virgin Mary. These examples also coincide with the charge of idolatry which was sinful according to Scripture.[18] The issue of celibacy was also a problem as it was seen to be usurping the God ordained institution of marriage.[19]

Protestants saw the Pope as usurping God's authority which led to the belief of the 'tyranny of popery.' This was the focal point of much anti-Catholic rhetoric because "the spiritual rights and liberties of ordinary believers were subverted and destroyed."[20] The lecturers believed that they were furthering the cause of liberty by being against the 'tyranny' of the Papacy. Protestants believed in the maxim that "ignorance was the mother of devotion." and so it was through ignorance that Catholics believed those 'popish lies'.[21] The anti-Catholic lecturer was attempting to educate the 'ignorant' Catholics through lectures and literature.

It was against this background of popular Protestantism that the anti-Catholic lecturer emerged, whose purpose was to inform the public of the lurid aspects of convent

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[17]Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: the Structure of a Prejudice,' R. Cust & A. Hughes (eds), Conflict in Early Stuart England, London, Longman, 1989, pp. 73-74.

[18]Ibid., p. 74.

[19]Ibid., p. 76.

[20]Ibid., p. 76.

[21]Ibid., p. 76.

and priestly life. The L.O.I. invited some preachers and financed their tours as the speakers supported their aims and advocated their ideals. The Catholic Church also commissioned lecturers to uphold the Catholic faith. There were also independent speakers. Best gives a revealing description of these colourful anti-Catholic lecturers by stating that "the anti-sacerdotalist was a stock type of public orator, agreeably blending edification with entertainment. If he were an ex-papist, so much the better. (If he were an ex-Jesuit, best of all!)"[22] Two major assets for a successful lecturer were the entertainment value of their oratory and any past personal involvement in the Catholic church. Ex-priests and ex-nuns were assured of capturing the public's attention. This attention was not always favourable. Roger Swift has noted that clashes between English and Irish in Britain were partially fuelled by anti-Catholic lecturers "notably in Stockport, 1852, in Oldham, 1861, in London, 1862 and during the more widespread Murphy Riots of 1867-71."[23] The inflammatory language used by the orators forced Catholics (in many cases Irish Catholics) to take strong action, which sometimes resulted in riots.

It was during this time of religious agitation and potential mob violence that these orators toured the world. These 'world tours' could include visits to both Australia and New Zealand. Just as conflict over interreligious rivalry was prominent in Britain this was also the case in New Zealand. As already noted, the tensions between Protestants and Catholics had its origins in the Reformation and continued to dominate the nature of the religious landscape, even in New Zealand. Early settler society in New Zealand did not have some of the same problems as other countries but this was more due to institutions not having been established. Once churches were built and related church organizations were formed, then the seeds of religious ferment began to germinate.

While New Zealand did not seem to have the same record of religious strife as Britain, animosity was still present especially in the key areas of education and prohibition. The education issue became a dominant issue with the passing of the 1877 Education Act

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[22]Op. cit., Best, p. 140.

[23]Roger Swift, "'Another Stafford Street Row': Law, Order and the Irish Presence in mid-Victorian Wolverhampton," in Swift & Gilley (eds), The Irish in the Victorian City, p. 189.

which, besides withdrawing subsidies from schools, allowed state education only in secular subjects.[24] This secularization outraged both Catholic and Protestant alike. The Catholics, with Bishop Moran at the forefront, decried these 'godless schools' and reproduced an identical editorial in the New Zealand Tablet for fourteen years between 31 August 1883 to 2 July 1897:

> The Catholics of New Zealand provide at their sole expense, an excellent education for their own children. Yet such is the sense of justice and policy in the New Zealand Legislature that it compels these Catholics, after having manfully provided for their own children, to contribute largely towards the free and godless education of other people's children!!! This is tyranny, oppression, and plunder.[25]

The Catholics objected to subsidising secular education while the Protestants deplored the exclusion of any religious content. As a result there were 42 unsuccessful bills between 1877 and 1935 which sought to modify the secular clause in the Act. 'Bible in Schools' was the primary way in which Protestants tried to include religious instruction in their children's education, which they saw as an intrinsically important part of their heritage.[26] The Catholics wanted their own schools with state aid to help their funding while Protestants objected to state aid to private schools but wanted Bible-in-Schools in a state education system. The latter was rejected by Catholics who saw this as introducing Protestantism to the Catholic children who were in the state education system.

The other controversial issue was prohibition which was a major issue between 1880 and 1920. This saw the flourishing of Temperance and Total Abstinence Societies such as the Independent Order of Rechabites and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.[27] Some Catholics agreed with prohibition but as the debate developed, rivalry between Catholics and Protestants became more pronounced as Catholics tended to take a liberal stance on the use of alcohol.[28]

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[24]Allan K. Davidson & Peter J. Lineham, (eds.), Transplanted Christianity. Documents Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1989, p. 218.

[25]Ibid., p. 222.

[26]Allan K. Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa. A History of Church and Society in New Zealand, Wellington, The New Zealand Education for Ministry Board, 1990, p. 66.

[27]The difference was that temperance meant moderation in drinking while total abstinence meant exactly that.

[28]Op. cit., Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa, pp. 69-70.

A common theme in these two issues is one of identity. The Irish who came to New Zealand attempted to maintain their religious affiliation whether it was Catholic or Protestant. If these two groups already misunderstood each other in their native homelands then in a new country with changed demographics the confusion was heightened. What made anti-Catholicism in New Zealand different was that the Catholics were marginalized by their Irish nationality and their Roman Catholic religion, both of which were minorities. (See Table 7 for Irish Figures).

Table 7: The Irish Catholic Population of New Zealand, 1861-1911.

Year	No.	% of N.Z. pop.
1861	10,870	11.0
1871	35,608	13.9
1881	68,984	14.1
1891	87,272	13.9
1901	109,822	14.2
1911	140,523	13.9

Source: New Zealand censuses, 1861-1911.

What made the tours of anti-Catholic lecturers a bitter pill to swallow was that unlike in Ireland where they were the majority, in New Zealand as a minority group they had to tread carefully with a Protestant majority who could readily believe the anti-Catholic propaganda. It was understood that if the Irish Catholic population could show that they were not 'rabble rousers' or 'seditious subjects' but instead law-abiding citizens who were no different from their fellow colonists, apart from their religion, then the litmus test of anti- Catholic lecturers would soon become superfluous.

At the beginning of the 1870s, New Zealand sought to attract immigrants to New Zealand, and took overseas loans to finance their travel. The immigrant came, farming was prosperous and the railways were developed. Even the churches in New Zealand prospered and numerous churches and schools were built. The situation in New Zealand changed in the 1880s as a crisis in world trade affected the repayment of the loans and in turn endangered New Zealand's prosperity.[29] Attempts by the government to remedy the economic slump met with little success and due to financial hardship social tensions

[29]Allen K. Davidson and Peter J. Lineham (eds), Transplanted Christianity: Document Illustrating Aspects of New Zealand Church History, Palmerston North, Dunmore Press, 1989, p. 178.

increased. Revivalism and sectarianism thrived during this period. "In the 1880s, when social and economic circumstances were difficult, revivalist preachers who emphasised repentance from sin, conversion, commitment and spiritual experience, began to attract large audiences."[30] It was in this atmosphere of religious revivalism that sectarian tension often thrived.[31] The visits of the preachers who came to New Zealand exemplified this tradition of revivalism which sought religious conversion. Sectarian tension often resulted because of the Catholic-Protestant divide which saw these two distinct groups vying for recognition.

Father Patrick Hennebery (1830-1897), a popular Catholic temperance preacher from Ireland, visited New Zealand between October 1877 and May 1879, and ironically this visit helped to set the scene for anti-Catholic lecturers coming to New Zealand.[32] Although Hennebery was a Roman Catholic priest, the revivalist style he used and controversy that followed him (however unintentional) helped to facilitate the arrival of these anti-Catholic lecturers. Reverend Father Patrick Hennebery was invited to New Zealand by Bishop Redwood of Wellington to conduct a Catholic Mission. Hennebery was different from many priests at the time as his cause was temperance. He spoke in the most eloquent terms of the evils of alcohol. The form of missionary endeavour that Hennebery undertook was very similar to his Protestant counterparts. In a sense Hennebery was very much in the 'revivalist' tradition but with Catholic overtones. The emotionalism involved in these missions was apparent at his very first one in Wellington.

> While describing his experience in America with regard to missions, he illustrated his remarks with numerous anecdotes, which occasionally stirred the risible faculties of the congregation to roars of laughter. The next moment he had the minds of the audience enthralled with emotion, while tears glistened in their eyes as he pictured in pathetic language the sad and calamitous doom that had befallen those whose apathy and indifference had caused them not to attend his missions. He spoke for about two hours and a half in a most eloquent manner...[33]

The 'mission' included three daily services and special sermons geared towards different groups. Married women were given instruction on their spiritual and domestic

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[30] Ibid., pp. 193-194.

[31] Ibid., p. 201.

[32] See H.R. Jackson, Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930, Wellington, Allen & Unwin, 1987, pp. 66-76.

[33] New Zealand Tablet, 19 October 1877.

situation and the married men on their responsibilities as "heads of the household circle." The unmarried men and boys over twelve were given their instruction on "the glorious time of youth" and to be "sober, honest, industrious and God-fearing." Instruction to the unmarried women and girls over twelve consisted of advice about domestic duties and an emphasis on the evils of modern society.

> Dress and personal adornment were severely censured as occupying too great a portion of the mind and time of the young ladies of the present day, and it was shown to them that these things, when dispensed with, did not in the slightest degree lessen the respect that should be paid towards the members of the fair sex, but on the contrary, exalted their virtues, and placed them higher in the minds of sensible men.[34]

The warnings against worldliness and the emphasis on how women should look could easily have been the sentiments of a nineteenth century Protestant preacher at a Protestant mission. This style of preaching adopted by Hennebery was not unlike the Catholic Revivalism that was popular among American Catholics in the second half of the nineteenth century. Jay P. Dolan in his Catholic Revivalism emphasises the impact of these revivals and how an evangelical style parish mission should not be considered usual in the Roman Catholic tradition.

> Its popularity, however, was not entirely based on the drama of its ritual or the appeal of the preacher...but equally important was the message of the preacher. People came night after night, not only to see him in action, but also to hear what he had to say. And in the final analysis what he said was to have a more lasting effect on the culture of Catholicism.[35]

With Father Hennebery, the New Zealand Catholic community was treated to an experience of Catholic revivalism which was becoming popular in America. The combination of revival and the cause of temperance was given impetus by the Irish Apostle of Temperance, Father Theobald Mathew (1790-1856). Father Mathew helped to push the cause of temperance within the Catholic church and the forming of societies committed to temperance. Father Hennebery operated in this same manner and even used Father Mathews pledge which was repeated at the missions and then medals or pledge-cards were issued. Paul Link in his biography of Patrick Hennebery, gave an example of the inscription on the Pledge-cards: "I promise to abstain from all intoxicating Drinks, except

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[34]Ibid., 19 October 1877.

[35]Jay P. Dolan, Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience 1830-1900, Notre Dame, London, University of Notre Dame Press, 1978, p. 89.

used Medicinally, and by order of a Medical Man, and to discountenance the Cause and Practice of Intemperance."[36] The use of such pledges was prominent throughout Hennebery's campaign in New Zealand.

There was a strong effect on the Catholic community as even at his first mission in Wellington there were Catholics attending the services who had not attended church for some time.[37] As notable as the return of these 'lapsed Catholics', was the number of converts from other churches. At Christchurch there were forty converts and the New Zealand Tablet made a special point of mentioning that they were not atheists but converts from other churches.[38] These were impressive results so early in the mission, especially in Christchurch where even the Protestant churches were so impressed with Hennebery that they offered a public hall for him to deliver his sermon on 'Drunkenness'.[39] The topical nature of the whole temperance movement must not be underestimated in New Zealand church life during the nineteenth century. Any glance at a church newspaper will reveal much information about temperance and the various temperance organizations that were in existence.

The beginning of his series of missions seemed to indicate a trouble-free visit, but this did not eventuate. Hennebery did not have any problems when he finished his mission in Hokitika but it was at Kumara, an area known for its high Irish population, that a campaign by the press stirred up tension. The contentious issue was Hennebery's preaching on mixed marriages. It was the Evening Star of Hokitika that first claimed that Hennebery was teaching that marriages between Catholics and Protestants were indeed not marriages and marriage by the Registrar was definitely not a marriage at all. The Kumara Times wrote an "editorial of the malignant kind" which soon roused the Catholics in Kumara. The Tablet reported that the "Catholics of Kumara have in the meantime given a new proof of their ever undying faith of the Irish people in the Catholic Church, and of their ever

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[36]Paul Link, C.PP.S., A Time to Sow and a Time to Reap, Ohio, Messenger Press, 1990, p. 116.

[37]New Zealand Tablet, 19 October 1877.

[38]Ibid., 21 December 1877.

[39]Ibid., 7 December 1877.

enduring attachment to their priests."[40] The outcome was that the Catholics refused to buy the Kumara Times.

The news of this newspaper 'war' came by telegraph to the Christchurch Press whose telegraph correspondents reported, "It is feared that sectarian difficulties may take place, as the Catholics are being incited from the pulpit."[41] These reports soon brought the Catholic church into the firing line so much, that local Christchurch priest Father L.M. Ginaty wrote to the Lyttelton Times stating that " 'the people are being incited', not 'from the pulpit', but by the unreliable portion of the Press Agency in the West Coast."[42] Hennebery himself sent a telegram denouncing these reports about his preaching and 'inciting Catholics from the pulpit' as "unmitigated and scandalous falsehoods, and I denounce them and other accompanying misrepresentations as barefaced and malignant aspirations."[43] Despite his denials and support from fellow clergy, a Wesleyan minister Reverend G.W. Russell supported the stand by the Kumara Times and even claimed that he would take an oath on the words he heard Father Hennebery use.[44]

What caused such allegations and counter allegations? The New Zealand Tablet seemed to think that it was Hennebery's teaching about mixed marriages whereby Catholics who are married to non-Catholics should have full freedom to be a practicing Catholic and be able to bring their children up as such. It was this teaching that the New Zealand Tablet believed annoyed "non-Catholic men who persistently deprive their Catholic wives of their liberty of fulfilling their Catholic duties."[45] This sounds a logical argument but not really enough to stir up the passions of Protestants on the West Coast. Hennebery himself has probably given us the reason for such a backlash. He states in a telegram to the New Zealand Tablet that it could have been the "very strong language I have used, and which I

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[40]Ibid., 12 April 1878.

[41]Press, 20 March 1878.

[42]Lyttleton Times, 23 March 1878.

[43]Ibid., 29 March 1878.

[44]New Zealand Tablet, 29 March 1878.

[45]Ibid., 12 April 1878.

hereby emphasise, in condemning the tendencies of the Catholics of New Zealand to Mixed marriages against the laws and teaching of the Church."[46] At issue then was not only Hennebery's sermon, but also the way in which he presented it. Any Protestant observers such as Reverend Russell would have taken issue with the type of 'strong language' used and missed their context. Hennebery stated that he was 'fearlessly' teaching "what the Church teaches." By doing this in a manner more accustomed to a Protestant revivalist preacher he unwittingly opened himself up for criticism. Not only was the Protestant experience of Catholic preachers almost nonexistent but Hennebery was also preaching in a style that was not in common usage in New Zealand.

Open air missions tended to be the preserve of Protestants so a Catholic counterpart may have been threatening to the Protestant community, because according to the New Zealand Tablet correspondent, it drew large crowds with 650 people receiving the sacraments and taking the temperance pledge.[47] There was also a temperance procession which marched through the main streets numbering "about 400 including children, and the Hibernian Society, in regalia, carrying flags, and wearing temperance medals" and this was in Kumara whose population was relatively small.[48] A combination of these events may have indicated to the more paranoid Protestants that the Catholics were beginning to exert their influence. Hennebery was after all a Catholic missionary who had already gained forty converts from other churches from his Christchurch mission at the end of the previous year. Despite this initial hostility and the threat of a libel case being brought against him by the editor of the Kumara Times, Hennebery had a successful series of missions throughout New Zealand.[49] However, he was still denying the charges some months later in a Wellington mission.[50] The New Zealand Tablet reported with great satisfaction that the number of communions made during the mission were 19,665 and about 23,000 took the

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[46]Ibid., 29 March 1878. Hennebery was an Ultramontane Catholic and advocated strict adherence to the Council of Trent. See H.J. Schroeder, O.P., (trans.), The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent, Rockford, Illinois, Tan Books and Publishers, 1978.

[47]New Zealand Tablet, 29 March 1878.

[48]Ibid., 12 April 1878.

[49]Lyttelton Times, 6 April 1878.

[50]Ibid., 23 July 1878.

total abstinence pledge. Also among the New Zealand Tablet reports were general comments about how some families were experiencing great happiness as a result of one or both parents giving up drink and becoming sober.[51] This 'successful' mission by Hennebery was soon to be tested by Pastor Charles Chiniquy.

Chiniquy was probably one of the most colourful lecturers ever to tour New Zealand. His life and writings had all the ingredients for an interesting tour.[52] He had transformed from "an ultramontane Roman Catholic French-Canadian priest into a world-renowned English-speaking Protestant anti-Catholic crusader."[53] The New Zealand leg of his Australasian tour was preceded by the Boxing Day riots in Christchurch and Timaru on 26 December 1879. These events, even though they had their own impetus, did coincide with Chiniquy's arrival. Chiniquy's lecturing in Hobart had led to riots and this rioting did occur before he arrived in New Zealand.[54] There were mixed reviews of Chiniquy's reception in New Zealand. When he arrived, the committee formed to oversee his tour was asked by Superintendent Thompson under instructions from Wellington, whether or not they would take responsibility for any disturbances. The committee accepted any responsibility. This indicated that there were precautions being taken to avoid a repeat of the riots in Timaru and Christchurch or even Chiniquy's recent foray of potential martyrdom in Hobart.[55]

Chiniquy had been invited to New Zealand by the Grand Orange Lodge of the North Island for the express reason that "the public mind was full of expectancy to hear his

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[51]New Zealand Tablet, 23 May 1879.

[52]See Chiniquy's books, Fifty Years in the Church of Rome, London, Robert Banks & Son, 1911, and Forty Years in the Church of Christ, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1900.

[53]Paul Laverdure, 'Creating an Anti-Catholic Crusader: Charles Chiniquy,' Journal of Religious History, vol. 15, no. 1, June 1988, p. 94.

[54]For further information on the Hobart events see E.M. Dollery, 'The Chiniquy Riots, Hobart', Tasmanian Historical Research Association Papers and Proceedings, vol. 9, no. 4, March 1962. For a contemporary account of the events see, 'A Full Account of the Hobart Town Riots, in Connection with Pastor Chiniquy's Lectures Together with Correspondence from Reverend H.C.M. Watson', Dunedin, John Graham, 1879.

[55]Press, 1 January 1880.

refutation of the slanders made use of by Priest Hennebery when in the city."[56] He arrived in January 1880. The Orange Lodge also took steps to protect Chiniquy with ten men nightly guarding the place where he was to stay, which was in Archdeacon Maunsell's house.[57] These precautions although deemed necessary in light of the riots proved to be unnecessary for his tour. Chiniquy toured for about three months and during this time he preached a variety of sermons but some topics proved to be more popular than others. The obvious lecture many wanted to hear was 'Why I with 25,000 of my Countrymen left the Church of Rome,' which was a synopsis of Chiniquy's life with special focus on his conversion from Catholicism to the Protestant faith. In essence this was his testimony. Two other lectures figured prominently on his New Zealand tour which were 'Rome and Liberty of Conscience' and 'Rome and Education'. The lectures generally had a sizeable audience and did not meet with much opposition.

The most notable opponent of Chiniquy on his tour throughout New Zealand was M. Mosley, an Irish Protestant and member of the Irish Distress Fund Committee (which included Father Ginaty).[58] What Mosley took issue with was Chiniquy's comments about the priests wanting Famine money for their own seditious plots. Chiniquy stated that he "had £50 ready to send to the North of Ireland so soon as ever he heard a cry of famine from there, but he feared he would have to keep his money in his pocket for a long time."[59]

Such comments drew the ire of Mosley who was part of a committee that was trying to raise money for Famine victims, and Chiniquy's comments discouraged donations. Mosley's first refutation of Chiniquy was in a letter to the Lyttleton Times. He showed the absurdity of the claim that priests were wanting money when it was indeed prominent Protestant Members of Parliament and even Protestant Archbishops and bishops who appealed for money and also "- mark this well- the Moderator of the General Assembly of

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[56]J. Carnahan, A Brief History of the Orange Institution in the North Island of New Zealand from 1842 to the Present Time, Auckland Star Office, 1886, pp. 31-32.

[57]Ibid., p. 32. Maunsell was a well-known preacher at Orange celebrations.

[58]Lyttelton Times, 18 February 1880.

[59]Ibid., 5 February 1880.

the Presbyterian Church."[60] This was very important as Chiniquy was a Presbyterian minister and it was therefore inappropriate for him to argue with a superior. Chiniquy replied by a letter to the Lyttleton Times that he would answer Mosley at his next lecture.[61] The day after he gave his lecture, on 12 February, an advertisement appeared in the Lyttleton Times stating that there was to be a lecture refuting Chiniquy's claims about the Famine in Ireland and it was to be given by Mr. M. Mosley.[62]

Mosley's lecture was considered by the Lyttleton Times as being "one of the best lectures that has been delivered in Christchurch for a long while," and with this type of introduction the paper proceeded to explain the main points of the lecture. Mosley made it very clear from the beginning of his lecture that he was not a Roman Catholic or a member of any society whether secret or not. This indicates that Mosley was attempting to show a certain amount of impartiality on his own part. There was no holding back in Mosley's criticism of Chiniquy. Using documented evidence from English and Irish sources, Mosley proved that there was a severe famine in Ireland. The notion that it was just a ploy for Catholic priests to solicit money was severely criticized and Mosley showed that the "noisiest agitator was Mr. Parnell, a Protestant." The focus of the lecture was to highlight Chiniquy's ignorance about the Irish Famine and to therefore show that his comments had been unfounded. Mosley finished his lecture by saying "I am amply rewarded if you leave here this evening with kinder feelings towards my land and country," and then he closed with a Thomas Moore song.[63] This was not however the end of Mosley's campaign against Chiniquy.

Yet another anti-Chiniquy lecture was given by Mosley but this time it was to question Chiniquy's use of the money he solicited for an alleged boarding house for young priests who left the Catholic Church. Also questioned was the absence of numbers of converted priests. The report by the Lyttleton Times indicated that his audience was well

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[60]Ibid., 6 February 1880.

[61]Ibid., 7 February 1880.

[62]Ibid., 12 February 1880.

[63]Ibid., 17 February 1880.

entertained.[64] The Press did not comment on Mosley's lecture except to say that "there was but a small attendance, and the interest manifested was on a par with it."[65]

There was interest in Mosley's lectures again when Reverend J.S. Smalley of the Wesleyan Church preached to a crowd of about 1000 people on "The Infallibility of the Pope, and Paster Chiniquy's critics criticised." Smalley's sermon included a criticism of the recent lectures by Mosley. He denounced Mosley's anti-Chiniquy lectures as cowardly and likened Chiniquy's misrepresentation to that experienced by Christ.[66] In the same paper that day there was a letter by Mosley defending his actions by claiming that he could only hold lectures about Chiniquy after he left Christchurch because it was only then that the hall was free. He also claimed that "Mr Smalley said, even if I could not get the Hall, the columns of the press were open to me. Perhaps you will kindly inform him that you- with other editors in Christchurch- declined to insert controversial letters referring to Mr. Chiniquy and his lectures.[67] In light of this comment by Mosley on press censorship it is not surprising that there does not appear to have been much opposition to Chiniquy's lectures. Other accounts of Chiniquy's lectures indicate that they were well attended and no incidents of violence occurred. Mosley seems awkwardly alone in his criticisms but then the recent events of the Boxing Day riots probably meant that any Irish Catholics who would normally voice their disapproval did not do so because of the desire by the bishops to not be seen causing any public strife. Once again, Reverend Smalley accused Mosley of failing to meet Chiniquy face-to-face and thought that Mosley could have secured another hall other than the Oddfellows Hall.[68]

Chiniquy attracted large audiences and the Orange and Presbyterian connections were maintained throughout Chiniquy's tour. He was welcomed in Christchurch by the Moderator of the Presbytery of Christchurch, William Horner and Edward Revell the Grand

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[64]Ibid., 23 February 1880.

[65]Press, 23 February 1880.

[66]Lyttleton Times, 24 February 1880.

[67]Ibid., 24 February 1880.

[68]Ibid., 27 February 1880.

Master of the Orange Lodge.[69] The New Zealand Wesleyan, a Methodist paper, was very supportive of the Chiniquy tour as it aligned itself with the Presbyterians. The New Zealand Wesleyan expressed that other Protestants should give Chiniquy a fair hearing and claims that "he interferes, say they, with other people's religion, and so is likely to set peace-loving people at variance with each other...As to interfere in the affairs of others, it is a most inapposite allusion in an anti-papal crusade. The POPE is the greatest meddler in the world."[70] The New Zealand Wesleyan had sympathy for Chiniquy because he was exposing the Catholic church and its heretical doctrines, which included transubstantiation.[71] Not all Presbyterians agreed however. Mr. Granger, one of the committee members for Chiniquy's lectures severed ties with the committee because Chiniquy was "not furthering the interest of Protestantism by his language."[72] Here he was referring to Chiniquy's parody of the doctrine of transubstantiation, which Granger saw as "disgusting and disgraceful."[73] The use of such offensive tactics by Chiniquy concerning transubstantiation were not new to Chiniquy's repertoire. In Montreal on 30 January, 1876 he had consecrated some communion wafers and after breaking them in his hands he stood on them to show that they were "just innocuous biscuits."[74] Such displays added a dramatic visual image to Chiniquy's oratorical outpourings but also produced adverse results.

While the Presbyterians and Methodists offered a certain amount of support through their pulpits for Chiniquy's lecture tour, the Anglicans were less enthusiastic (apart from people such as Reverend Maunsell who had an Orange connection). The New

[69]Ibid., 2 February 1880. In Christchurch, the following humorous conversation appeared in the Lyttleton Times, 21 February 1880. "Newsboy: "...Buy a Chiniquy lecture, sir?" Traveller: "Who's Chiniquy?" Newsboy: "Dunno, I'm sure sir; some people say he's a rogue. I don't care what you call him s'long as you buy a book." Traveller: "Yes, but what do *you* call him?" Newsboy (decidedly): "Well, look here. When he was at the station the other day, I offered him these books and he said no, he didn't believe in 'em." General laughter, but no sale effected."

[70]New Zealand Wesleyan, 1 March 1880.

[71]Op. cit., Schroeder, p. 75. Gives a definition of transubstantiation- "...by the consecration of the bread and wine a change is brought about of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ our Lord, and of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood".

[72]Lyttleton Times, 20 February 1880.

[73]Richard P. Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics, 1868-1922, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1974, p. 61.

[74]Dictionary of Canadian Biography, vol. XII, 1891-1900, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1990, p. 192.

Zealand Church News was not sympathetic to Chiniquy's Method and purpose in his attacks on the Catholic Church. While this Anglican paper believed the Catholic Church was in error it felt that

> We owe it to the prudence and forbearance of those who exercise authority over the Roman Catholics amongst us that the provocation, which was deeply felt, was not allowed to break out into acts of open violence. Extravagant denunciation has much the same effect as persecution; while it exasperates the persecuted, and intensifies their hatred and prejudice, it invariably begets sympathy on their behalf in the minds of dispassionate lookers-on...Our wonder is, that so many good men could be found to give countenance to what appears to us so alien to the spirit of true Christianity.[75]

Three major issues arise from this account of Chiniquy's visit. Firstly, there were no 'acts of open violence' by Catholics, presumably due to the influence of the Catholic bishops. This is an important aspect of Chiniquy's visit because riots had tended to follow him wherever he travelled. Following the Boxing Day riots in Christchurch and Timaru the ecclesiastical warnings against further expressions of anger against 'enemies of Catholicism' meant that the Chiniquy visit passed by without any threats of violence. Secondly, even though the Anglicans clearly viewed the Catholic Church as being in grave error, they also saw that Chiniquy stirred up public sympathy for the Catholics. The final point raises the question of why some churches gave Chiniquy the use of their pulpits. Some Presbyterian churches held stronger anti-Catholic views than many Anglican churches. This belief meant that they were more likely to be eager to hear what an ex-priest had to say about the Catholic Church. The Chiniquy visit proved that some Protestant churches were willing to give approbation to the 'spirit of anti-Catholicism' in all of its glory and sensationalism.

The next notable visitor to espouse anti-Catholicism was the 'escaped nun' Edith O'Gorman Auffray who arrived in New Zealand in 1885 at the "express invitation of the Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand."[76] Her visit was primarily to expound on the shroud of mystery surrounding 'what really went on in a convent'. This particular question had obsessed Protestants from the 1830s, especially in Britain where this had not really been an issue until the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829 had revived the flagging 'No Popery' cries. In essence the concern was that young girls were

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[75]New Zealand Church News, March 1880.

[76]Evening Post, 21 October 1885.

> like 'helpless victims adorned for sacrifice,' too young to know exactly what they were doing, were induced to take 'that irrevocable vow which bound [them] to perpetual seclusion, and separated [them] for ever from all the social ties and endearing charities of life' And what happened when she came, too late, to her senses (as Protestants were sure a good-hearted Protestant girl must do) and wanted to get out? She would be held by force.[77]

This is an example of Protestant paranoia about how young girls were committed for life with no prospect of ever being free. This type of reasoning led some Protestants to the conclusion that there were young girls being held by force in convents who wanted to escape. Through this climate of fear came stories like that of Maria Monk and Edith O'Gorman Auffray who spoke about their experiences of convent life and their subsequent 'escape'. Auffray had been in a convent unlike the discredited Maria Monk who fabricated her experience as a nun. Before Auffray travelled to New Zealand she had already gained a reputation as an 'escaped nun' through her book Convent Life Exposed which detailed her experiences in a New Jersey convent and her later 'escape' from it.[78]

Auffray's tour did not begin well with the New Zealand Tablet reporting that the press in Auckland "spoke disparagingly of her and after a notice of her first lecture or so the name of "The Escaped Nun" was scarcely heard of in Invercargill."[79] The period of time in question was about five months in which little was written about Auffray apart from some allegations by the New Zealand Tablet about her alleged 'escape' and the publication of a pamphlet which was a reprint from the Boston Pilot which also made the same allegations about Auffray's life. Regardless of this, her tour became quite popular and there was an air of entertainment about Auffray's visit because reports about her meetings indicated a large attendance. When speaking at the Oxford Terrace Baptist church in Christchurch, it was reported that she spoke to a church that "was crowded to excess, numbers being turned away for want of room."[80]

Auffray's visit to New Zealand became a resounding success due to the debate that developed between her and Fred Fulton who was an English born Anglican and a "well-

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[77]Op. cit., Best, pp. 127-128.

[78]Gustavus Myers, History of Bigotry in the United States, New York, Random House, 1943, p. 240.

[79]New Zealand Tablet, 26 March 1886.

[80]New Zealand Baptist, March 1886.

known teetotal lecturer."[81] The high point in Auffray's tour was in Dunedin where after an exchange of letters to the newspapers between Auffray and Fred Fulton, she challenged Fulton to a public debate, with the proceeds going to the Home for Fallen Women. In a meeting the previous night she had offered to meet Bishop Moran but "it appeared that Bishop Moran or his clergy had not the manliness to come and meet her face to face."[82] This theme of 'manliness' continually resurfaced when Auffray defended herself against their accusations.

The people who crowded into the Garrison Hall, in Dunedin on 2 March 1886, filled the place an hour before the debate began. The meeting had to begin fifteen minutes before the starting time because the crowd was impatient.[83] The meeting was reasonably disorderly with interjections and laughter from the audience during Fulton's one hour of allotted time. Fulton made the accusation that Auffray was just extorting money from the 'lies' she told and that "some people regard her as possessing a giant intellect, whereas, outside the theme of her show, she is commonplace and vulgar."[84] He added to the entertainment of the meeting when he claimed that "This "Escaped Nun" business is all 'bosh'."[85] Despite the interruptions Fulton spoke for an hour and affirmed his accusations as to the falsity of Auffray's claims about her 'escape' from a New Jersey Convent.

When it was Auffray's turn to speak she chose to question Fulton about his allegations, by showing that he did not have the evidence to substantiate his claims. She challenged the accusation that she had received a beating from her 'alleged' husband in Minneapolis in 1872, of which Fulton had a signed affirmation that this took place and claimed that he was at the hotel at the time.[86] After cross-examining Fulton, Auffray showed that he did not have any knowledge of the geography of Minneapolis, suggesting

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[81]"Is the "escaped nun" a fraud?' Being a full report of the public discussion between Mr Fred Fulton and Miss O'Gorman (Mrs Auffray) at the Garrison Hall, Dunedin, 2 March 1886. Dunedin, J. Powers, Smith & Co., 1886, p. 1.

[82]Ibid., p. 7.

[83]Ibid., p. 8.

[84]Ibid., p. 12.

[85]Ibid, p. 13.

[86]Ibid., p. 5.

that he had never been there. Concerning the allegation of being beaten by her husband, she faced Fulton with her hands on the table "demanding whether she looked like a woman who would take a beating from any man."[87] Such theatrics produced loud applause and she further clinched the debate by putting to shame the slurs against her 'alleged' marriage by producing yet more applause especially with her comment that "A more infamous and more unmanly act than to throw suspicion on her marriage could not be accomplished by any man, and he who could do that must have fallen so low in the human scale as to have forgotten that he ever called a woman by the sacred name of mother." This was followed by "long- continued applause and hostile demonstrations to Mr Fulton."[88] This undermined Fulton's claims of being a gentleman. Auffray also asked why Fulton called her a Yankee show-woman when she was actually born in Ireland.[89] The interplay between Auffray and Fulton gave the audience some lively entertainment but it also highlighted their different styles of speaking.[90] All of these aspects helped to create a lively debate. One of the winners from the debate was the Home for Fallen Women who were donated £115.[91]

At a farewell lecture after the already mentioned debate, the Orangemen of Dunedin presented Auffray with an address thanking her for all her efforts and they presented her with a silver salver. A petition was then read which was proposed to be presented to both Houses of Parliament. Their call was for a public inspection of convents because the petitioners believed that civil liberties were being violated.[92] This was in

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[87]Otago Daily Times, 3 March 1886.

[88]Op. cit., 'Is the "escaped nun" a fraud?' p. 19.

[89]Ibid., p. 19. These twists and turns in the debate showed that Fulton and the New Zealand Tablet who under Moran's guidance republished these allegations against her, did not have a strong case against Auffray. She won the debate unanimously and even forced Fulton to apologize about his references to her marriage.

[90] A description of Fulton's oratory is worth noting- "Mr. Fulton's chief strength lay in his resonance of voice and a gesticulation so passionate as to involve some little personal danger to himself and those in his immediate vicinity," Otago Daily Times, 3 March 1886. This energetic speaking was at times comical, when at one point in the debate Fulton faced Auffray with clenched fists while she fanned herself and looked cheerful. Ibid., 3 March 1886.

[91]Press, 15 March 1886. The Press called it the Dunedin Female Rescue Home.

[92]Otago Daily Times, 4 March 1886.

accordance with the reason for Edith O'Gorman Auffray's visit which was to publicly raise the question and provide answers as to what was happening in convents. There was also the aspect of questioning candidates for election about whether or not they supported this proposal. The Oamaru L.O.L. No. 19 was of the opinion "that we approve of the inspection of convents but that we cannot pledge ourselves to reject a candidate for Parliament simply because the said candidate would not consent to such inspection."[93] This issue of public inspection of convents continued to be an issue for the Loyal Orange Lodges in New Zealand who saw the need for public inspections to ensure the proper treatment of women who were nuns. In Auffray's farewell lecture in Christchurch on 16 March 1886, she spoke to a packed audience on "Cruelties and Penances to Nuns and Orphans."[94] These lectures helped to convince some members of the population that convents were really places of torture and degradation for women rather than a place in which they could have a contemplative lifestyle devoted to God.[95]

Tessie B. Chapman also an ex-nun, had a lecturing tour of New Zealand in 1885 which coincided with the Auffray tour. The major difference between the two women was that Auffray was clearly a Protestant who gleaned her support from Protestant churches and Orange Lodges whereas Chapman was speaking from a Freethought viewpoint. What is more surprising is the relative youth of Chapman in attempting such a tour through New Zealand. Her standard lectures were "How I left the Catholic Church" and "The Popes of Rome." The popularity of her lectures was evident by the crowded audiences that attended. She was described as being "about twenty-two years of age, and of a prepossessing appearance. She spoke extempore, but occasionally referred to notes. She speaks clearly, with a good deal of pathos occasionally, but her utterances were in some instances, given with more than the usual platform speed."[96] Chapman was obviously an eloquent speaker

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[93]'Loyal Orange Lodge No. 19, Oamaru Minute Book, 1882-1914', 4 June 1887.

[94]Press, 16 & 17 March 1886.

[95]New Zealand Tablet, 31 March 1910, stated that Mrs Auffray was in financial difficulty and to remedy this, decided to resume her lecturing- "She trusts that the Protestant Christians of England and Scotland will help her in her time of trial by inviting her to the towns and cities in the kingdom to give her much-needed lectures."

[96]Press, 8 June 1885.

who managed to gather sizeable audiences to hear her lectures. She was definitely denouncing the Catholic Church in the fashion of other anti-Catholic lecturers but it was her style that impressed both the audiences and even the newspapers who could not fault her presentation. By her own admission Chapman stated that after leaving the Catholic Church she went to a Protestant one.[97] From there she heard Charles Bright (a known Freethinker) lecture in Dunedin on Freethought and from this she studied for two years, and adopted Freethought views.[98]

At her lectures she challenged any of the clergy to refute her claims and in Auckland she even had in her advertisement "Bishop Luck and the Roman Catholic Clergy are especially invited to attend."[99] Chapman's similarity to Auffray is worth noting as both were Irish born but lived most of their lives in another country, both were eloquent, and above all both denounced the Catholic Church.[100] Chapman's stature as a speaker was foretold early in her lecturing campaign by F.C. Hall who claimed "Miss Chapman is and will become a great power to the Freethought platform."[101] Although speaking from a different vantage point than Auffray, Chapman's message was the same- that Roman Catholicism was an evil that needed to be halted.

An example of this combination of two different groups with the same focus can be seen when "in Auckland, in October 1885, Rationalists and Evangelicals held Sunday night meetings in public theatres on the same subject: the evils of Roman Catholicism."[102] There was a common anti-Catholic tradition in both groups. Lineham has noted that many prominent Freethinkers had been nurtured in the evangelical Protestant tradition.[103] As

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[97]New Zealand Tablet, 23 October 1885, noted that "We know little or nothing and have heard very little about Miss Chapman. If she was ever a member of the Dunedin Catholic congregation, she was neither prominent nor remarkable as such, and her defalcation has never been noticed nor her presence missed."

[98]New Zealand Herald, 4 October 1885.

[99]Ibid., 3 October 1885.

[100]Ibid., 4 October 1885.

[101]Freethought Review, 1 July 1885.

[102]Peter Lineham, 'Freethinkers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand,' New Zealand Journal of History, vol. 19, no. 1, April 1985, p. 77.

[103]Ibid., p. 77.

already noted the evangelical Protestants were notable for their attacks on the 'errors' in the Roman Catholic Church teachings. This goes some way to explaining the two-pronged attacks by people such as Auffray and Chapman who were exposing Rome's 'errors' from entirely different ideological bases.

The next anti-Catholic lecturers of significance were Joseph and Mary Slattery, who arrived in New Zealand in January 1900. They were invited by the L.O.I. to try and gain more members.[104] The nature of this lecturing campaign was distinct from all previous campaigns. Whereas with both Chiniquy and Auffray had some censorship by the newspapers it was not a coordinated effort and the New Zealand Tablet did not play a prominent role in this. The opposite was true for the Slattery's. This change in dealing with anti-Catholic lecturers can be traced to Father Henry William Cleary who was editor of the New Zealand Tablet from 1898 to 1910. Cleary had the experience in dealing with controversial issues since his The Orange Society which attacked the very nature of the Orange Institution, had been through eleven editions since its publication in 1895.[105] In Cleary, the Catholic Church had a 'defender of the faith' who led an aggressive campaign to discredit the Slattery's and everyone who supported them.

The number of pamphlets and New Zealand Tablet reports about the Slatterys gives testimony to this being a coordinated campaign. As already seen, previous anti-Catholic lecturers may have encountered some press resistance but there were still large audiences and open pulpits for them to preach from. It was not to be that easy for the Slatterys. Cleary was prepared for their arrival and two reprints from the New Zealand Tablet discrediting the Slatterys were the key to the anti-Slattery campaign. The Slattery's campaign in Thames at the beginning of their tour set the tone for the remainder of their visit. On the Sunday before the Slatterys arrived at Thames for a lecture on 30 January

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[104]Victorian Standard, 30 June, 1899. In the context of the Slattery's Australian tour, a Dunedin correspondent stated- "The Orange cause here is moving along quietly. We are all very pleased to learn that ex-priest and Mrs. Slattery are having big meetings, and we are hoping for a visit from them. I understand the lecturers have been written to on the subject of a New Zealand tour, but we realise that they have many calls and a large field before them."

[105]Rory Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism and the Irish Issue, 1914-1922' in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), The Churches, Ireland and the Irish, Studies in Church History, vol. 25, Oxford, Basil Blackwell Ltd, 1989, p. 377.

1900, 200 pamphlets exposing the Slatterys had been delivered. Ministers of other denominations cautioned their congregations not to go to the lectures. Father Mahoney, at St. Francis' Catholic Church, Thames, summed up the prevailing attitude towards the Slatterys-

> You are aware also that on next Tuesday we are to be visited with a veritable plague, a moral, or as I should rather say an immoral, plague, for as you have seen by the advertisements, that most pitiable of all God's creatures, a fallen priest, is coming to our peaceful community to spread among the citizens a plague of foul speech and obscene literature, to bear false witness against the Church of his birth and the faith of his fathers.[106]

As a result of Cleary's anti-Slattery campaign, Joseph Slattery's first lecture only had 44 people in attendance and Mary Slattery lectured to less than 30 women. The key to this 'dismal failure' was credited by the New Zealand Tablet to 'The Slattery Antidote' which was their Pink Pamphlets entitled Joseph Slattery: The Romance of an Unfrocked Priest and Mrs Slattery: The Romance of a Sham Nun. The pamphlet on Mrs Slattery was not used at Thames but was used in conjunction with the other pamphlet throughout the Slattery's entire tour. The theme of the Slatterys being a 'plague' is used in New Zealand Tablet advertisements for the pamphlets which claim that, "These pamphlets have everywhere proved themselves the best antidotes for the Slattery plague."[107] These Pink Pamphlets were also being distributed at the Slattery's meetings and this further discredited them.

The Press in Christchurch refused to publish any details about their lectures and so 100 people marched to the Press office to demand why the lectures were not permitted. The editor told them that the lectures "were not reported because they were simply calculated to stir up religious bitterness and strife in the place, without any prospect of compensating benefit."[108] This sharp reply was backed up by the Lyttelton Times editor who simply ordered the protesters off his premises.[109]

The editorial policy of these papers not to publish anything about the Slatterys also resulted in a meeting of Orangemen and Protestant sympathizers about the liberty of

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[106]New Zealand Tablet, 15 February 1900. Auckland authorities had been taking steps to halt the possible outbreak of bubonic plague.

[107]New Zealand Tablet, 15 February 1900.

[108]Press, 16 March 1900.

[109]New Zealand Tablet, 29 March 1900.

the press and the "attitude of Dunedin papers, being severe."[110] It is worth noting that the Orange Lodge put the number of protesters at "upwards of 200 indignant citizens."[111] Despite the general disdain of some of the newspapers around New Zealand, the Deputy Grand Master in Christchurch stated, "I feel that these meetings were productive of much good to our order."[112]

Cleary and the New Zealand Tablet felt justified by the actions of the press and congratulated the newspapers- "The world keeps moving on. And- for Catholics at least- one of the pleasantest signs of its progress is the enlightened and sensible attitude of the secular press towards adventurers like the SLATTERYS, whose noisome trade it is to arouse sectarian rancour and coin it into chinking drachmas.[113] This self satisfaction by Cleary was further reinforced by the way that the secular newspapers not only refused to publish any details of the Slattery's lectures but in Dunedin the Otago Daily Times and the Evening Star would not even allow advertisements in their papers.[114] Twenty-one years later, Cleary boasted that,

> At my request, the Otago Daily Times and the Dunedin Evening Star, absolutely refused to take any advertisement from such culminators as Ex-priest Slattery and his sham "ex-nun", or to report them, or to do any printing for them, or to allow them the use of their advertising hoardings. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME IN THE HISTORY OF AUSTRALASIA THAT THIS ACTION WAS TAKEN BY ANY SECULAR NEWSPAPER AGAINST THE PROFESSIONAL SLANDERER OF OUR FAITH.[115]

The theme of the Slatterys being a 'plague' was further enhanced by the way in which the New Zealand Tablet described the Slatterys with such words as 'filthy', 'festering', and 'coarse' so as to associate them with disease. Indicative of this is the description of the Slatterys as being "a pair of fraudulent adventurers whose object is money, money, money, and who, when they get as much of it as they can, flit to the next city or country, regardless

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[110] Grand Orange Lodge of New Zealand, Middle Island. Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-Fourth Annual Session, Held in the Orange Hall, Invercargill, December 27 and 28, 1900, Christchurch, Caygill and Co., 1901, p. 10.

[111] Ibid., p. 10.

[112] Ibid., p. 10.

[113] New Zealand Tablet, 29 March 1900.

[114] Ibid., 29 March 1900.

[115] Cleary to New Zealand Tablet Directorate letter, 10 September 1921, Cleary Papers, Auckland Catholic Archives.

of the running sores of bigotry which they have opened and left festering along their evil track."[116] This description of the Slatterys as virtual carriers of a plague was said in the context of the threat of bubonic plague in New Zealand. This conjured up images of the Slatterys as the lowest form of human life. The imagery is that of a fly carrying diseases.

The graphic language that repeatedly occurred in the New Zealand Tablet's anti-Slattery campaign was effective. It was claimed that, "Their 'show' in New Zealand has been avoided as a bubonic plague by the clergy and respectable non-Catholic laity, and is now frankly set by the public sense of the Colony in its proper category as a low-down performance unfit for any person who uses soap and water."[117] This was clearly an indictment on those who associated with the Slatterys, particularly the Orangemen as Slattery was an Orangeman.[118] The Orange Institution was Cleary's old foe and he claimed that they had invited the Slatterys because (according to quotes from the Victorian Standard, an Australian Orange newspaper), "Orangeism was making little headway in New Zealand and so therefore "a little more opposition...'is needed'."[119]

When the Slatterys left New Zealand the New Zealand Tablet headline "A HAPPY RIDDANCE" summed up the feeling of many Catholics and especially Cleary who could be satisfied that throughout their tour the Slatterys were hounded by his Pink Pamphlets that were distributed all over New Zealand. Cleary was grateful to the secular press who had supported him in his anti-Slattery campaign.[120] Rory Sweetman suggests that the press supported Cleary because "of the repugnance of most colonists towards the importation of sectarian divisiveness. It was also a tribute to the studied moderation and courteous style of the *Tablet* editor."[121]

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[116]Ibid., 29 March 1900.

[117]Ibid., 29 March 1900.

[118]Ibid., 26 April 1900.

[119]H.W. Cleary, Joseph Slattery: The Romance of an Unfrocked Priest, Dunedin, New Zealand Tablet, 1900, p. 7.

[120]New Zealand Tablet, 26 April 1900.

[121]Rory Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922', University of Cambridge, Ph.D., 1990, p. 33.

The only substantial opposition to Cleary came from the New Zealand Guardian, an Anglican paper of the diocese of Dunedin, which expressed the opinion that the Slatterys did not receive a fair hearing. The editor claimed that "ex-priest Slattery... has been and gone. The most remarkable thing about his visit has been the successful gag of the secular press of Dunedin by the Romanists."[122] These claims were tainted very quickly by Cleary whom first likened the New Zealand Guardian article to an excerpt from "the hysterical columns of the Victorian Standard." With the support of the editors of the Dunedin newspapers Cleary then continued to destroy the credibility of the Guardian's claims.[123]

The New Zealand Tablet received the 'encouraging' news that the Slatterys were not long in Hobart because of the Pink Pamphlets that Cleary had sent there to discredit them.[124] The Slatterys encountered a riot in Adelaide because the crowd demanded their money back or they would carry off the chairs because they disapproved of Joseph Slattery's lectures.[125] The Pink Pamphlets also pursued the Slatterys to Melbourne.[126] This aggressive campaign against the Slatterys is totally unlike any other, with the Pink Pamphlets written by Cleary having been sent to newspapers in New Zealand and Australia. This led the public to question the Slattery's personal integrity and thus nullified their claims against the Catholic Church.

Margaret Lisle Shepherd was another touring speaker in the "ex-nun" tradition who made her way to New Zealand in 1902 to lecture against the Catholic Church. Her tour of Australasia was sponsored by the Australian Protestant Defence Association.[127] Just like the preceding "ex-nuns" Shepherd had an autobiography, called My Life in the Convent which describes her life in a convent and her subsequent conversion to

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[122]New Zealand Tablet, 17 May 1900.

[123]Ibid., 17 May 1900.

[124]Ibid., 14 June 1900.

[125]Ibid., 28 June 1900.

[126]Ibid., 30 August 1900.

[127]Richard Broome, Treasure in Earthen Vessels: Protestant Christianity in New South Wales Society 1900-1914, Queensland, University of Queensland Press, 1980, p. 112.

Protestantism. Shepherd's main impact as a speaker was in America where "her effectiveness as a lecturer, however, depended on her success in remaining one jump ahead of the truth concerning her life before the Boston conversion."[128] The 'truth' about Shepherd consisted of the fact that she was born Isabella Marron, a daughter of an Irish-Catholic soldier in India. It is from India that she travelled to other countries and gained her reputation.

> Her earlier life had been marked by the birth of an illegitimate child, participation in a swindling racket, and a term in jail for theft. Punctuating these activities were an interval as a Salvation Army worker and two years as the repentant inmate of a refuge for fallen women operated by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd at Bristol in England. Dismissed from the refuge as beyond reform in 1885, she left for Canada to conduct a "Gospel Army" in Ontario...She had acquired a husband but had deserted him, and she arrived in Boston in 1887...Not until 1891 was her sordid story revealed in Boston. By that time her field of operations had been enlarged, both as lecturer and as leader of the Loyal Women, so that the revelations did not curtail- perhaps they even enhanced- her drawing power as a lecturer.[129]

Details such as these had appeared in Cleary's pamphlet Mrs Slattery: The Romance of a Sham Nun, which placed Maria Monk, Margaret Shepherd and Mary Slattery all in the same category of "sham nuns."[130] There was a connection between Shepherd and Slattery because Slattery claimed in 1894 to represent the Loyal Women of American Liberty of which Shepherd was founder and leader.[131]

When Shepherd first lectured in Christchurch she offered a series of four lectures.[132] Her first lecture was about two-thirds full.[133] Subsequent lectures were uneventful until 10 October 1902 at the Oddfellows Hall when Shepherd gave her final lecture on 'Romanism' and there was a minor disturbance-

> Two gentlemen sitting at the back of the building wanted to ask questions, but the audience was against them, and the lecturess declined to reply. Finally a man came in from the back, and threatened to turn them out if they did not keep quiet. There was a slight scuffle at the end of the

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[128]Donald L. Kinzer, An Episode in Anti-Catholicism. The American Protective Association, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1964, p. 24.

[129]Ibid., p. 24.

[130]H.W. Cleary, Mrs Slattery: The Romance of a Sham Nun, Dunedin, New Zealand Tablet, 1900, p. 4.

[131]Op. cit., Kinzer, p. 117.

[132]Two public lectures and two private lectures on 'Romanism.' Again there were 'Ladies Only' lectures and then ones for 'Ladies and Gentlemen.' It was the 'Ladies Only' lectures that were private. Press, 29 September 1902.

[133]Ibid., 3 October 1902.

> lecture, in which one of the questioners, who had disguised himself by means of a black false moustache, had that ornament knocked off.[134]

Apart from this rather odd incident there seemed to be no other apparent reaction to Shepherd's lectures. The Orange Lodges had even put advertisements in the newspapers imploring their members to attend.[135] This move by the Orange Lodges indicates what sector of the community these lectures most appealed to.

At one of her Christchurch meetings Shepherd made the extraordinary claim that she "represented no organisation and no church, and was quite independent." It seems that Shepherd did not think that her own Loyal Women of American Liberty was an organization. She was also a member of the Ladies' Loyal Orange Association of British America.[136] It is also worth noting that at this same lecture for women only, Shepherd stated that Protestants and Catholics should not intermarry.[137] Two points were being emphasized here. Firstly by claiming that she did not represent any organization or church Shepherd was trying to act impartially even though she clearly upheld Protestant theology. Secondly the admonition against intermarriage between Catholics and Protestant set up the sectarian divide and only inflamed further prejudice against Catholics.

The reaction of the public to Shepherd's lectures is difficult to gauge but one letter to the paper by J. Seager was very scathing of Shepherd and her 'sheep'. After a brief report on Shepherd's 'sordid' background, Seager described Shepherd's followers- "I was not surprised to see that the most of the people who went to the lectures were of the same class as the lecturess. The air in some quarters reeked of beer. Some were there out of curiosity and some to whet their appetite for gossip, but one could distinguish a large gathering of Orange followers, who had come to welcome her."[138] Seager had only contempt for those who attended the lectures and made the telling point that there were

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[134]Ibid., 11 October 1902.

[135]Ibid., 30 September 1902.

[136]M.J. Brady, A Fraud Unmasked: The Career of Mrs Margaret L. Shepherd, Woodstock, Ontario, n.p., 1893, p. 52.

[137]Lyttleton Times, 3 October 1902.

[138]Ibid., 11 October 1902.

many Protestants who had Catholic wives and who could "testify to their purity and innocence."[139]

Seager's sentiments were probably representative of many Catholics who were annoyed at what they saw as an attempt to further sectarian strife towards them. A swift reply to Seager's letter came from T. MacDonald who felt that Seager was unjustified in his criticism. MacDonald drew the parallel with the Torrey Mission and the Shepherd lectures in that Torrey being a Protestant preacher could be criticized but once the subject "touches on the Catholic religion the boot pinches, and they don't like it."[140] MacDonald ended with the plea for fair play in the reporting so that people such as Seager could be informed. This message was indicative of the 'freedom of speech' group who always raised this argument when an ex-nun or ex-priest visited New Zealand on a lecture tour. One correspondent, 'Tay Pay', adds some light relief to the debate.[141]

> I am never put out with "escaped" nuns or Orangemen; in fact, I like Orangemen: we get on fine, because I never discuss "Popery" with them. I know them to be escaped Sunnysiders. If you touch that spot, life is too short to discuss anything with anybody. I believe in taking things easy, and letting the other fellows do the thinking and discussing. I vote as my superiors direct, and live up to the good old motto:- "Praise God, honour the King, fill your bellies and hold your din."[142]

The Australian Sentinel reported that Margaret L. Shepherd had "a completely successful mission in New Zealand."[143] This reference to Shepherd by Australian Orangemen indicates that her lectures were seen by them as an integral part of their work. In essence, any person who lectured against the Catholic Church who drew large audiences was deemed a success regardless of whether this translated into numbers either joining the Orange Institution or leaving the Catholic Church.

In March 1905, the Auckland Protestant Defence Association (P.D.A.) invited Reverend William Marcus Dill Macky (1849-1913) from Australia, to tour and lecture on

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[139]Ibid., 11 October 1902.

[140]Lyttleton Times, 13 October 1902. The Torrey Mission was an evangelistic Protestant Mission.

[141]Someone was using as a pseudonym the name of T.P. O'Connor, an editor and Member of Parliament for Liverpool 1885-1929.

[142]Lyttleton Times, 17 October 1902. Note that 'Sunnyside' is a psychiatric hospital in Christchurch.

[143]Australian Sentinel, 29 November 1902.

the principles of the P.D.A. Dill Macky was another Irishman, born in Ulster, and he was Grand Chaplain of the Australian L.O.I. between 1899and 1904. He formed the Australian Protestant Defence Association (A.P.D.A.) in June 1901. The A.P.D.A. was formed to protect the interests of Protestants in the social, political and economic spheres of Australian life.[144] He stated that "he was not going to attack the Church of Rome, but its principles, as one would attack the principles of free trade, and not the persons who advocated it."[145] Although his lectures aroused some interest in the P.D.A. this waned quickly, and the organization was defunct by 1907.[146]

The lecturers who visited New Zealand highlighted the differences between Catholics and Protestants, but they also showed the divide between Irish Catholic and Irish Protestants. Despite the emphasis on Catholic-Protestant sectarian tension, ethnicity played an important role in all of the tours. The Irish dominated L.O.I. sponsored lecturers and the Catholic Church was greatly influenced by the large numbers of Irish in the Church. All of the lecturers with the exception of Chiniquy had Irish connections either by birth or parentage; but even Chiniquy raised Irish issues.

For the Catholics, the tour of Hennebery had the result of gaining new converts, bringing back 'lapsed' Catholics who were not practicing their faith and significantly unifying the Catholic community who viewed themselves as a distinct group in New Zealand society. Although the issue of temperance was a major issue in Hennebery's visit, it was the doctrinal disputes that caused the most strife. Most notable was the 'mixed marriage' issue which highlighted the religious tension and separateness between Catholics and Protestants.

The L.O.I. bolstered its numbers through these tours as they gained members who were sympathetic to their form of anti-Catholic rhetoric. Issues important to the Orangemen were also raised during the tours, such as the calling for public inspections of convents. The 'ex-nuns' painted such a sordid picture of the nuns activities that this matter

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[144]Op. cit., Broome, pp. 116-124. The L.O.I. in New Zealand formed the New Zealand P.D.A. in Dunedin on 4 May 1903.

[145]New Zealand Herald, 7 March 1905.

[146]H.S. Moores, 'The Rise of the Protestant Political Association: Sectarianism in New Zealand during World War I, University of Auckland, M.A., 1966, p. 33.

was given full attention by the Orange Lodges and to their minds it confirmed their belief that the Catholic Church was a corrupt institution. The general anti-Catholic message was also emphasized which the L.O.I. saw as important since their aim was to uphold Protestantism and guard against any advancement of Catholicism in New Zealand.

Antagonism between the two groups was increased by the censorship that lecturers such as the Slattery's endured. The L.O.I. felt it had a right to speak out against the Catholic Church and when the opportunity was taken away through press censorship, this reinforced their belief that the Catholic Church had control over the press. Catholics on the other hand, felt that no person or group had the right to criticize their church in such a manner as the lecturers did. They believed that the tours of ex-nuns and ex-priests only stirred up prejudice against them, through what they saw as misinformation and slander.

The visits by Hennebery and the anti-Catholic lecturers gave prominence to the changing attitudes between Catholics and Protestants in New Zealand. The Hennebery visit helped to unify the Irish Catholic community as they sought to maintain their Catholicism in a country where Protestantism was the dominant strand of Christianity. The anti-Catholic lecturers sought to exploit the anti-Catholic tradition that had been entrenched in the heritage of the British settlers. The later visits however, reflected a softening anti-Catholic stance by the Protestant community as the lecturers found it increasingly harder to gather public support for their tours. Overall the Protestants which had anti-Catholic leanings were catergorized as 'bigots' while the 'victims', the Catholics, were able through the efforts of priests such as Cleary to capitalize on the visits by gaining public sympathy.

Chapter 6.

CONCLUSION.

The Irish issue and sectarianism went hand-in-hand in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in New Zealand. Rory Sweetman suggests that there were "several factors dividing Catholics from Protestants in New Zealand before the war (attitudes towards alcohol, gambling, religious education and similar social issues)" but that these were not a major cause of the sectarian tension.[1] He argued that "the Irish issue [Home Rule] was the catalyst which helped to destroy New Zealand's domestic harmony. Its removal immediately weakened the forces of institutional sectarianism."[2] This may have been true for the World War I period but earlier outbreaks of sectarian antagonisms did not have the Irish issue as its catalyst. Its main cause was the institutionalized sectarianism of the Catholic Church and the Protestants, through the H.A.C.B.S. and the L.O.I.

Sectarianism did not always take such overt and effective forms as the P.P.A. and its campaign of anti-Catholicism. In this regard Moores was correct in his assessment of sectarianism by stating that

> it is clear that sectarian tension was often present during the nineteenth century. Though its more spectacular and violent manifestations were usually occasional, brief, and localised, these tensions continued to accumulate and formed a tradition out of which the Protestant Political Association was to emerge in the second decade of the twentieth century.[3]

Moores was clearly laying the cause of sectarian tension at the feet of militant Protestants who formed organizations such as the L.O.I. and the P.P.A.

The Irish Protestants had separatist beliefs and formed Protestant Benefit societies such as the Protestant Alliance Friendly Society of Australasia.[4] The Catholic Church in

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[1]R.M. Sweetman, 'New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922', University of Cambridge, Ph.D., 1990, p. 2.

[2]Ibid., p. 350.

[3]H.S. Moores, 'The rise of the Protestant Political Association: sectarianism in New Zealand during World War I', Auckland University, M.A., 1966, p. 15.

[4]In H.W. Cleary, The Orange Society, Melbourne, Bernard King & Sons, 1897, ninth edition, p. 5, he states that the "Protestant Alliance Friendly Society may be looked upon as practically but a benefit branch of the Orange association." This was a fair comment as the P.A.F.S.A. and the L.O.I. sometimes marched together. The P.A.F.S.A. also advertised in the Orange newspaper, the Nation.

New Zealand also had its own institutionalized form of sectarianism. The Catholic hierarchy had a separatist policy which resulted in Catholic schools, a Catholic benefit society (the H.A.C.B.S.), and the Church also claimed the concept of 'Irish' for themselves. Catholic sectarianism upset the Protestants, particularly those in the L.O.I., who believed that the Catholics were trying to control New Zealand society.

The Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics who arrived in New Zealand in the late 1800s brought with them the religious rivalry and nationalist aspirations which were the cause of sectarian tension in Ireland. The two different communities transplanted this sectarianism through a number of ways, but this thesis has dealt with the transplanted institutions, the L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S. which were a focal point for Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic identity, particularly between 1877 and 1910. Moores explained that

> These years saw the dawning of the age of the lodge, an age which continued until the 1920's. The lack of social facilities and of cultural and sporting amenities, the drabness of provincial life, poor communications and the isolation of many communities, contributed to the popularity of the lodge in this era. The lodge provided fellowship and debate, and, in its atmosphere of secrecy and its elaborate ritual, some of the colour and formality lacking in an essentially frontier society. It was not merely the Orange Institution that flourished in the half-century. Lodges of many orders- Masonic, Rechabite, Temperance, Oddfellow, Buffalo- appeared in town and country in bewildering numbers. Most of the leading political and business figures of the day were keen members of at least one order...[5]

The membership of the L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S. was never numerically strong. In 1905 each institution had approximately 2500- 3000 members. This membership was not static as there were always new members joining and members leaving (which could include ones who were expelled). These institutions also had an extended community. When the L.O.I. celebrated with banquets, parades or soirees, supporters, sympathizers and other family members attended. Even though they were not members, they shared similar beliefs and were involved in the activities.

The H.A.C.B.S. was integrated into the wider Catholic community which gave the society added strength and stability even though their membership was small. This was shown in the St Patrick's parades where they would march with Catholic school children.[6]

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[5]Op. cit., Moores, p. 23.

[6]In 1880, 150 Hibernians marched with 2000 Catholic school children. See chapter 4.

The Hibernian Society and the Orange Institution were also associated with a world-wide network of lodges and branches which meant that they were integrated into a global brotherhood and sisterhood.

The antagonism between Catholics and Protestants was reinforced by the ritual and fraternalism of each institution. These features gave the two communities a sense of cohesion and purpose but also contributed to the sectarian tension between them. The two institutions consisted of members who wanted to uphold their respective religion and this solidarity resulted in the development of brotherhoods. The introduction of Ladies Lodges threatened the exclusiveness of the 'brotherhood'. This 'threat' materialized as the Ladies Lodges gained more say and became more numerous. Their most notable achievement was to elect their own officers which in turn gave them more control over their own lodges. The gender issue ultimately did not upset the brotherhood as the sisterhood became another facet of fraternalism. The introduction of ladies lodges did not alter the dynamics of fraternalism because they were in one accord with the men when it came to issues such as religion and allegiances.

The L.O.I. was a religious and political secret society formed on the twin foundations of Protestantism and Liberty. Orangeism described the Protestant minority who felt besieged by the Catholic majority in Ireland. The Orangemen wanted Protestant domination over the Catholics and so tried to maintain Protestant Ascendancy. In New Zealand, the majority of the settlers were Protestant, but even so, the sectarian beliefs of the Orangemen were transported from Ireland. Davis suggested that the Irish Protestants "needed fraternal associations to help them to adjust to their new environment."[7] The L.O.I. incited sectarian strife between Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics in New Zealand as the strict laws and ritual of the L.O.I. helped to maintain the sectarian divide. The institution was to be exclusively Protestant but it was also anti-Catholic. Their symbolic parades were also a focus for factional rivalry.

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[7]Richard P. Davis, Irish Issues in New Zealand Politics 1868-1922, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1974, p. 51.

The L.O.I. did not have much success politically until the formation of the P.P.A. in 1917. The P.P.A. did make an impact in the political arena, but eventually they became defunct. The L.O.I. survived and this would have been due to the fraternalism between the Orangemen. Their survival was also reflected in their changes over a period of time. In 1906, the L.O.I. stated in its Declaration of Principles that it would "afford assistance to distressed members of the Institution, and otherwise promote such laudable and benevolent purposes as may tend to the due ordering of religion and Christian charity."[8] It remained a secret society but it also became a charitable organization, with the new focus of giving aid to the wider community.

The Hibernians also functioned as a fraternal brotherhood although their main function was to be a benefit society. Both institutions had ritualism but the Hibernians disowned the secretive passwords and ceremonies as these were abhorrent to the Catholic Church. The driving force of these two institutions was expressed in their activities. The L.O.I. was overtly anti-Catholic whereas the Hibernians were more pro-Catholic in that they espoused the teachings and doctrines of the Catholic Church. The Church defended Catholics in New Zealand against the allegations of the L.O.I. therefore the Hibernians did not have to organize anti-Protestant campaigns.

The Irish Catholics transplanted the ultramontanism of Ireland to New Zealand, and the Hibernian Society fitted into this concept as it was another way of separating Catholics from the influence of Protestants. The Hibernian Society stated that

> We are united as Catholics, not only for the wise purpose of making provision against those casualties to which all are liable, and of assisting those of our members who require our aid, but also for that moderate enjoyment and social intercourse so essential in a mixed community to our spiritual and temporal welfare.[9]

The Hibernians tried to act primarily as a benefit society for Catholics and thus provide financial assistance that the Catholic Church did not. The benefit functions of the H.A.C.B.S. was a lure for Catholics to leave other benefit societies that had masonic rituals which the Church condemned. It was also a way to minimize contact with Protestants which

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[8]Constitution and Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of New Zealand, North Island, Auckland, Star Office, 1906, p. 3.

[9]H.A.C.B.S. Ritual Book For the Use of Male, Ladies, and Mixed Branches, Melbourne, National Directory, 1963, p. 7.

in theory, would decrease the number of mixed marriages. It is in this way that the Catholic Church used the Hibernian Society as a means of social control.

The Hibernians were not a success as their membership grew very slowly. This indicated that Catholics were content to stay in other benefit societies which offered greater benefits. Another cause of their failure was due to the Irish-centred nature of the H.A.C.B.S. This may have been a deterrent to non-Irish Catholics, but also to the Irish who wanted to distance themselves from their 'Irishness' and emphasize their loyalty to New Zealand rather than Ireland.[10] Davis suggests that to "the bewildered colonial the patriotic intransigence of the Irish Catholic was matched only by the equally Irish intransigence of the Orangemen."[11]

The kinship, identity and solidarity that the L.O.I. and H.A.C.B.S. offered to their members was expressed through their parades. The parade was a means of declaration and affirmation of their beliefs, to themselves and for the benefit of the wider community.[12] The marchers wore distinct uniforms as they "reduced variety and effaced individualism, heightening the image of order created by concerted movement...Tokens of identity, such as badges, sashes, ribbons, and banners, unified marchers and separated them from their audience."[13] The parades were also a religious and social expression of the institutions. The symbolism and ritualism intertwined with the parades helped to maintain their links with Ireland but it also displayed the sectarian traditions that were transported from Ireland. The L.O.I. used their provocative parade as an expression of their anti-Catholicism. Their subsequent banquets with anti-Catholic rhetoric cemented a community who were clinging to their Old World values and beliefs. To the public, the parades signified the Irishness of both institutions and also highlighted the irreconcilable differences and rivalry of the two communities.

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[10]New Zealand Tablet, 8 and 29 May 1913.

[11]Op. cit., Davis, p. 69.

[12]Susan G. Davis, Parades and Power Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1986, p. 13. The parades were a form of public communication as they occurred in the streets.

[13]Ibid., p. 159.

Anti-Catholicism was transported to New Zealand through the two Irish dominated institutions, but it was also carried by the anti-Catholic preachers who toured. Their visits and that of Hennebery, were catalysts for sectarian tension even though the enthusiasms aroused by these lecturers were only temporary.[14] Hennebery's visit raised the issue of temperance but also of mixed marriages and the subsequent reactions to this issue illustrated that this was a delicate area in Catholic-Protestant relations. The Catholic Church in New Zealand was unified through his 'revival' style missions, and even gained converts and some 'lapsed' Catholics returned to the fold. The Hibernians participated in the temperance processions in conjunction with Hennebery and the Catholic Church, but they stayed out of any disputes.

The procession of anti-Catholic lecturers were Irish born apart from Chiniquy and Shepherd (who still had Irish parentage). They were mostly sponsored by the L.O.I. and sought to criticize the Roman Catholic Church whilst trying to raise money for their various causes. These visits divided the Catholic and Protestant communities even more, especially due to the issue of 'respectability'. Single women entering a cloistered lifestyle came under, according to the anti-Catholic lecturers, the evil influences of Catholic priests. The L.O.I. began an aggressive campaign for the public inspection of convents.

The reception of these anti-Catholic lecturers by the public was varied. This was mostly due to the tactics of the Catholic Church. The early visitors were denounced but it was not a concerted effort on the part of the press, or the Catholic Church. Cleary, the editor of the New Zealand Tablet, mounted a systematic campaign against the Slattery's in 1900, which resulted in press censorship and the Catholic community gained public sympathy. The L.O.I. became the focus of public animosity, and were outraged at the press censorship. Even so, the tours still boosted their numbers as there were people who were sympathetic to their cause. The overall effect of these tours was increased sectarian tension. This in turn increased the social and religious gap between Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants.

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[14]Op. cit., Moores, p. 28.

Tours by Hennebery and the anti-Catholic lecturers were a part of a world-wide scene which saw revivalist and sectarian speakers travel vast distances, speaking to wide audiences and collecting money. The L.O.I. and the H.A.C.B.S. were also institutions which had associated international bodies. The Hibernians state that the symbol of the globe on their regalia "while being symbolical of the world-wide dominion of the Catholic Church, signifies, too, that our Society welcomes to its ranks peoples of every race, but we insist that candidates for membership be practical Catholics."[15]

Each institution was implementing modes of social action that were not exclusive to New Zealand. Their members were mostly Irish and in this sense the international context was significant. Davis states that

> like the Orangemen, the New Zealand Hibernians were a part of a loose confederation of similar societies existing in many parts of the world. Neither restricted membership to men of Irish birth or descent. Again, both bodies utilized symbolism and wore colours which could be interpreted as provocative by their enemies. Together, therefore, they provided natural focal points for sectarian and national antipathies.[16]

The Irish diaspora in which thousands of Irish immigrated around the world was a global exodus. When the Orangemen and the Hibernians acted out their rituals, made speeches, recruited members and distributed their literature, they were enacting inherited traditions of Protestantism and Catholicism which had their roots in many countries.

The rivalry between Protestant and Catholic communities lessened once they were away from the country which had borne this sectarian conflict. In Ireland, the Catholic Church had developed the equation of Catholic = Irish and therefore that non-Catholic = non-Irish. The Catholic Church was striving for Catholic religious and cultural ascendancy. The Protestants were also acting in a sectarian manner, by wanting Protestant ascendancy. This was the underlying reason for the sectarian divide between the two communities. The Orangemen and the Hibernians, however, found a new identity in New Zealand. The L.O.I. in particular evolved to become a charitable organization.

Faction fighting between the two communities was less in New Zealand than it was in Ireland, but the sectarian nature of the organizations was ingrained and this remained. In

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[15]Op. cit., H.A.C.B.S. Ritual Book, p. 7.

[16]Op. cit., Davis, p. 63.

the pursuit of solidarity within these institutions, they built structures of ritual based on sectarian lines, and this increased the tension between Irish Protestants and Irish Catholics. Conflict between the two communities was minimal (even the Boxing Day riots in 1879 were isolated incidents and no lives were taken). The two groups co-existed in New Zealand without constant sectarian strife, whilst still maintaining their traditions.

The wider community did not want public displays of animosity from either group. The visits of Hennebery and the anti-Catholic lecturers stirred up sectarian tension and bigotry. The wider public did not want this antipathy in New Zealand and this sentiment was echoed in the newspapers.

> Those who make such attempts are enemies to the State. Whether it has been Pastor CHINIQUY, Father HENEBERRY...[who have] sought to fan the flame of religious animosity or to offend those who do not think as they think...we now deprecate the course pursued by Mrs. AUFFREY and the action of those who have brought her here, or who encourage and countenance her lecturers...Bigotry, intollerance, and fanaticism, have hitherto found no congenial soil for their baneful development in New Zealand, and we hope they will never be permitted to become acclimatised. All attempts at their propagation should be ruthlessly nipped in the bud.[17]

The sectarian tensions between 1877 and 1910 were the result of antagonisms created by the Irish Protestant and Irish Catholic communities through their respective institutions. The explosion of sectarian strife during the World War One period however, was largely the product of external influences, such as the Easter Rising in 1916 and the issue of the conscription of priests and religious. Sweetman suggests that the "peculiar stresses of wartime, papal neutrality in the world conflict, and an increasingly assertive Catholic body were vital ingredients in the sectarian explosions that rocked New Zealand in the decade to 1922."[18] After the War had finished the Irish Free State was established in 1922. Then the sectarian conflicts between the Irish Protestant and Catholic communities, as before the War, were localized and sporadic.

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[17]Evening Post, 21 October 1885.

[18]Op. cit., Sweetman, p. 350.

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